RECORDS AND TRADITIONS

OF

DEANE CHURCH, VILLAGE, AND PARISH,

&c.

*

AUTHOR'S WIFE.

RECORDS & TRADITIONS

OF

Deane Church, Village, and Parish,

IN LANCASHIRE,

A.D. 597 to 1904.

Together with the Histories of
THE SAXON KINGDOM OF DEIRA, OF WHICH LANCASHIRE FORMED A PART,
AND ITS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY;
THE MONKS OF WHALLEY ABBEY, TO WHOM BELONGED SAYNTE MARIDEN,
THE EARLY CHAPEL OF DEANE;
THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE, THE DOWNFALL OF THE ABBEY OF WHALLEY
AND ALL OTHER ABBEYS;
AND
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GEORGE MARSH,
THE DEANE MARTYR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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1904.

"Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's."
Shakespeare.

ERRATA.—Vol. II.

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*It was not till after the work was in print and paged, that it was found desirable to divide it into two volumes, hence the pages of Vol. II. follow in rotation those of Vol. I.

ILLUSTRATIONS.—Vol. II.

CHAPTER XLIV.

AS mentioned some time back, King Edward was born at Hampton Court on the 12th of October, 1537, and had the misfortune, a few days after, to lose his mother, Queen Jane Seymour, who died of a distemper incident to women in that condition, taken the day following his birth.

He was carefully educated in the Protestant faith, to which he displayed much attachment, Dr. Cox, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, being his preceptor for the knowledge of philosophy and divinity, and Sir John Cheke for the tongues and mathematics.

Placed under their government when six years old, "he gave," Bishop Burnet tells us, "very early many indications of a good disposition to learning, and of a most wonderful probity of mind; and, above all, of great respect to religion and everything relating to it. So that when he was once in one of his childish diversions, somewhat being to be reached at that he and his companions were too low, one of them laid on the floor a great Bible that was in the room, to step on; which he beholding with indignation, took up the Bible himself, and gave over his play for that time."

Returning to the council, "In the [late] king's will there was," the bishop informs us, "a clause requiring his executors to make good all that he had promised in any manner of ways. And on the 16th of February it was ordered in council, on the authority of Paget, confirmed by Denny and Herbert, who waited on the king in his chamber when on his death-bed, that Hertford should be Duke of Somerset, and his brother [Sir Thomas Seymour] should be Lord Seymour of Sudleye; Lord Parr was to be Marquise of Northampton, Lisle and Wriothesley Earls of Warwick and Southampton."

Wriothesley, now Earl of Southampton and still the lord chancellor, "believing," Froude tells us, "that he held his office irresponsibly and irremoveably, made out a commission in the king's name to the Master of the Rolls and three civilians, empowering them to hear and determine causes in the Court of Chancery as his representatives. The students at the Inns of Court complained to the council.

"The judges being consulted, reported unanimously that the issue of a commission under the great seal without sanction from

the crown was an offence by which, 'by the common law,' the chancellor had forfeited his office; and when first called to account, Wriothesley enhanced his misdemeanour by 'menacing divers of the learned men,' and 'using unfitting words to the Lord Protector.'

"The council 'considered what danger might ensue if the great seal of England, whereby the king and the realm might be bound, should continue in the hands of so stout and arrogant a person as durst presume at his will to seal without warrant'; and they resolved, without a dissentient voice, that he should be deprived. On the 16th of March the chancellor resigned the seals into the hands of Lord Seymour and Sir Anthony Brown.

"The Protector was now conveniently freed from his ablest opponent, and a week after he took out a new patent for the Protectorate, which was drawn in Edward's name. The executors were left as his advisers; but, probably under the pretence that the chancellor's conduct made it necessary that their position should be more distinctly defined, they were now represented as nominees of Edward, and no longer as guardians appointed by his father."

"A mighty change," says the National History of England, "was thus accomplished without the least visible effort. For the first time in history the realm had come to be under a Protestant government.

"Edward VI. was crowned King of England and Ireland, on Sunday, the 20th of February, four days after his father's interment in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Archbishop Cranmer put the regal diadem on his head before the altar of Westminster Abbey, and he and the Protector showed their good sense by abridging the ceremony, so as not to be hurtful to the delicate constitution of the boy king."

Returning to Froude: "On the 4th of May a royal visitation, after the pattern set by Cromwell, was," he tells us, "announced as to take effect throughout England.

"The country was divided into six circuits; a Book of Homilies as a guide to doctrine, a body of instructions for the ordinaries [bishops], and of injunctions for the clergy, were drawn up simultaneously under the direction of Cranmer; and the bishops were suspended from their functions until their duties should recommence under a new system.

"The crown visitors were to inquire how far the bishops had obeyed the orders of the late king; whether the English Litany had been in use; whether the pope's authority had been preached

against; whether the old scandals of the bishops' courts continued, 'the commuting of penance for money,' and the excommunication for lucre; whether 'excessive sums were taken' for 'religious services, for the concealment of vice, or for induction into benefices; whether the long-standing grievance was yet abandoned of summoning persons ex-officio suspected of heresy, and putting them to shame of purgation.

"All this was well. Inveterate evils could be extirpated only with watchfulness and habitual investigation."

And from the National History of England we learn further that "the visitors were to exhort the clergy, as well as laity, to the study of the Bible, to remove idolatrous images, to repress priestly fanaticism, and in general to destroy as much as possible all outward forms of popish superstition.

"The success of this work, entirely directed by Archbishop Cranmer, was very great. The visitors, all of them zealous reformers, had carried out their instructions everywhere without opposition, cordially aided by the people.

"A great step towards freedom of conscience having thus been accomplished, Somerset next hazarded a bold stroke for political liberty. The first Parliament of the new reign was called together on the 4th of November, 1547, and the first bill laid before it was expressly prepared to destroy the basis of the late king's monstrous despotism, as far as it was embodied in legislative acts and royal decrees having the force of statutes.

"This act of repeal included the monstrous statute of the Six Articles, which had brought hundreds to the stake; the sanguinary law 'concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards'; and, finally, that most preposterous of all the parliamentary enactments of Henry's reign, by which royal decrees were allowed to have the force of statutes.

"To stretch the repeal as far as possible, it was made to include the whole of Henry's despotic laws against freedom of conscience, or, as it was expressed, 'all and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion.' This great statute of repeal properly laid the foundation of religious liberty in England.

"Thirteen years before, Cromwell had severed, with one gigantic stroke, the ancient bonds which chained the people to Rome; and now Cromwell's friend [Cranmer] annihilated, with stroke not less gigantic, the bonds, mightier than those of Rome, by which men's minds were held under the influence of worldly

authority. Cromwell transferred the rule of faith from the pope to the king; Somerset transferred it from the king to God.

"The opposition to all the measures for the reform of religion carried out by the Protector and Cranmer was remarkably slight. Everywhere the inhabitants, with the exception of the very lowest classes, joyfully welcomed the teachers and preachers of a purified faith, and eagerly assisted in the destruction of the images of idolatrous worship, which for centuries had debased the rites of Christianity into paganism.

"Even the high dignitaries of the church, who had the greatest interest in remaining attached to the new reforms, thus silently acknowledging that they met with the approbation of the vast majority of the people."

Froude, referring to this Parliament, says: "The spirit of the hour was of universal benevolence. The Six Articles Bill was repealed. The Bills of Henry IV. and Henry V. against the Lollards were repealed.

"England had entered a golden age, when there was to be no more treason, no more conspiracies, no more hankering after the pope or foreign invaders.

"The Act of Works, and the sharper clauses of the Act of Supremacy, were blotted out of the statute book; and offences under those, or any other Acts which in the late reign had been raised into treason or felony, not having been treason or felony before, fell back into misdemeanours. Gardiner was in the Fleet [prison]; but Gardiner was an exception, and persecution as such was to be at an end."

Gardiner had opposed the Homilies, and still objecting, when requested by Cranmer, had been sent to the Fleet; now, however, he was liberated. Bonner had been of like mind, but, repenting, he was set at liberty after eight days' confinement in the same prison. Both were permitted to return to their sees.

"'The king,' nevertheless," continues Froude, "'desired unity and concord in religion;' and although 'he wished the same to be brought to pass with all clemency and mercy, and although he wished that his loving subjects should study rather for love than for fear to do their duties to Almighty God,' there were yet profanities which could not wholly be tolerated, and those who spoke irreverently and profanely of the Eucharist might be punished with fine and imprisonment.

"The concluding clause of this statute enjoined communion in both kinds on laity as well as clergy; and in jealousy of the abused power of excommunication, the parish priest was prohibited from refusing the sacrament to anyone who reverently desired it.

While Parliament was thus employed, Convocation had assembled as usual. The clergy were disconcerted to find that, slight as had been the respect with which they had been treated in the late reign, they were treated with less in the present.

"Questions, not only of church policy, but of doctrine, were discussed and disposed of by the laity without so much as the form of consulting those to whom, until these late times, they had exclusively belonged. They therefore petitioned Cranmer that they might now be associated with the Commons in the nether House of Parliament.

"In the days of their power the clergy had divided themselves from Parliament, claiming a right to assemble at their own time and by their own authority, and to legislate separately at their own pleasure. Their ambition recoiled upon themselves. As they had constituted themselves a separate body, a separate body they should continue—or, rather, a disembodied ghost.

"They were not permitted to fall back upon privileges which they had voluntarily abandoned; the Lords and Commons continued to do this work for them."

"On the 8th January, next year [1548], Gardiner was," Bishop Burnet tells us, "brought before the Council, when it was told him, that his former offences being included in the King's pardon, he was thereupon discharged. He went home to his diocese, where there still appeared in his whole behaviour great malignity to Cranmer, and to all motions for reformation.

"In February, there was a letter sent from the Council to the Archbishop, informing him that they had resolved upon an entire removal of all images; and he was to give order to see this executed in his own diocese, and to transmit to the other Bishops, to be in like manner by them.

"There were in the Churches some images of so strange a nature that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the image of the blessed Trinity, which was to be censed, on the day of the Innocents, by him that was made the Bishop of the children; this shews it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censed by the Bishop when he was present.

"How this image was made can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at that time; in which the Father is represented sitting, on the one hand, as an old man with a triple crown and rays about Him; the Son, on the other hand, was a young man, with a crown and rays; and the blessed Virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost, a dove, spread over her head; so it is represented in a fair book of the Hours according to the use of Sarum [Salisbury], printed anno 1526.

"The impiety of this did raise horror in most men's minds, when that inconceivable mystery was so grossly expressed. These things had not been set up by any public warrant; so they resolved on an entire removal of all images."

This recalls to mind the demolishing, by the parishioners, in 1522, already recorded, of the Heaton Chapel in Deane Church. It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Ann, and probably there may have been such a picture, if not an image, as described above, seen in the Chapel at that period.

"There were also orders given that all rich shrines, with all the plate belonging to them, should be brought into the King's use; and that the clothes that covered them should be converted to the use of the poor.

"This gave Gardiner, and those of his party, a new affliction; for in his diocese he had always been on their side that were for keeping up images.

"But they all submitted; and so the Churches were emptied of all those pictures and statues which had been for divers ages the chief objects of the people's worship.

"This winter there was a Committee of selected Bishops and divines for examining all the offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been, in King Henry's time, employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought full perfection.

"Therefore the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St. Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St. David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster, and Rochester; with Doctors Cox, May, Tailor, Heins, Robertson, and Redman; were appointed to examine all the offices of the Church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment.

"The first step these deputed Bishops and divines made was to reform the Mass-book then most used in England, and best known by the name of the 'Missal,' after the use of Sarum [Salisbury].

"But they did not at once mend everything that required it but left the office of the mass as it was, only adding to it that which made it a Communion. It began first with an exhortation, to be used the day before, which differs not much from that now used; only, after the advice given concerning confession, it is added, that such as desired to make auricular confession, should not censure those who were satisfied with a general confession to God.

"And that those who used only confession to God and to the Church, should not be offended with those who used auricular confession to a priest; but that all should keep rule of charity, every man being satisfied to follow his own conscience, and not judging another man's in things not appointed by God.

"After the priest had received the sacrament, he was to turn to the people and read an exhortation to them; the same we now use, only varied a little in words. After that followed a denunciation against sinners, requiring them who were such, and had not repented, to withdraw, lest the devil should enter into them as he did into Judas. Then, after a little pause, to see if any would withdraw, there was to follow a short exhortation, with a confession of sins, and absolution, the very same which we do yet retain. Then those texts of Scripture were read which we yet read; followed with the prayer, 'We do not presume,' &c.

"After this, the sacrament was to be given in both kinds; first, to the ministers then present, and then to all the people, with these words, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body unto everlasting life'; and 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul unto everlasting life.' When all was done, the congregation was to be dismissed with a blessing.

"The bread was to be such as had been formerly used, and every one of the breads so consecrated was to be broken in two or more pieces; and the people were to be taught that there was no difference in the quantity they received, whether it was small or great; but that in each of them they received the whole body of Christ.

"If the wine that was at first consecrated did not serve, the priest was to consecrate more; but all to be without elevation.

"This office, being thus finished, was set forth with a proclamation, published on the 8th of March; and on the 13th, books were sent to all the Bishops of England, requiring them to send them to every parish in their diocese, that the curates might have time both to instruct themselves about it and to acquaint their people with it, so that by the next Easter it might be universally received in all the churches of the nation.

"The new communion book was received over England without any opposition. Only complaints were brought of Gardiner, that he did secretly detract from the king's proceedings; upon which the council took occasion to reflect on all his former behaviour. And here it was remembered how, at first, upon his refusing to receive the king's injunctions, he had been put in the Fleet, where he had been well used, as if he had been in his own house; but when he was come home, he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put public affronts on those whom the council sent down to preach in his diocese; for in some places, to disgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of such teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them.

"Upon this, he had been sent for a second time, and, upon his promise of conformity, was discharged, and ordered to stay at his own house in London. That there he had continued still to meddle in public, and had spoken very seditiously concerning the policy of the kingdom.

"So they, seeing that clemency wrought no good effect on him, sent him to the Tower.

"The next thing Cranmer set about was the compiling of a catechism, or large instruction of young persons in the grounds of the Christian religion.

"After that a new liturgy was resolved upon, and, in compiling the offices, Cranmer began with morning and evening prayer. These were put in the same form they are now, only there was no confession nor absolution."

On the 24th of November the Parliament assembled for its second session, "to sanction," says Froude, "the changes of creed and ritual which Cranmer was now ready to bring forward.

"The Latin services were to be completely and finally superseded by an English Prayer-book, a draft of which was at last in a condition to receive the consent of the Lords and Commons. The

Archbishop, 'to build up,' as he said, 'a body of doctrine which should be agreeable to Scripture,' had collected opinions from all parts of Europe.

"The result of his labours was the first imperfect draft of the Book of Common Prayer of the present Church of England. The magnitude of the innovation can now be with difficulty appreciated, when the novelty of the sixteenth century has in its turn been consecrated by time.

"Of the strange features of the change, the strangest was, perhaps, that the official opinion of convocation was scarcely asked even in form. Parliament now discussed the faith of England, and laymen decided on the doctrines which the clergy were compelled to teach.

"The minor business of the session has first to be related. The Clergy Marriage Act of the last year was brought up again; and at last it was determined to simply repeal all positive laws enforcing celibacy, as having given occasion to vice. But, in abolishing the prohibition to marry, the Parliament continued to signify their moral disapproval. 'It were better for the estimation of priests,' they said, 'and therefore much to be wished, that they would willingly endeavour themselves to a perpetual chastity.'

"Fasting was next dealt with in a similar spirit of compromise. In the light of the new doctrine the distinction between days and meats no longer existed. There was, and could be, nothing definitely pleasing to God in eating meat or abstaining from it on one day more than another; yet, 'due and godly abstinence from flesh was a means to virtue, to subdue men's bodies to the soul and spirit.'

"Fridays, Saturdays, the eves of Saints' days, Ember days, and Lent, were, however, ordered to be observed in the usual manner, under penalties for each offence of a fine of ten shillings and ten days imprisonment."

CHAPTER XLV.

"BUT," continues Froude, "the question of the session was the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity, and, in the Prayer Book, the service for the communion. The change of substance in the elements of the eucharist, the material incorporation of the believers in the body of Christ by the reception of those elements, was and is the essential and centre doctrine of the Catholic church.

"The mystic words spoken by the priest in the consecration formed the keystone of the arch which joined the visible and the invisible worlds, and round these words and their accessories the controversy between Catholic and Protestant was now revolving.

"On the passing of the Act in the session of 1547, for communion in both kinds, a service had been put out in which the Catholic doctrine was maintained substantially intact; but heresy and orthodoxy changed places rapidly. On the opinions of Cranmer himself there was still uncertainty.

"Though the Act of Uniformity was not brought forward till the 7th of January, the book of which the Act was the sanction must have been laid before the Houses at the beginning of the session. 'On the 14th of December, a disputation was held on the eucharist, in the presence of almost the whole nobility. The battle was sharply fought by the bishops. Canterbury, contrary to expectation, never obtained a brighter victory.'

"On the 22nd of December, John Isham, writing to Sir Edward Bellingham, in Ireland, said: 'Blessed be God, all things go well forward here in the Parliament House, for they go directly and clearly to extinguish all popish traditions and to set forth the true word of God; and goodly orders be already devised to establish the King's Majesty's realm, in divine service to be used in his churches.

"'But there is great sticking touching the blessed body and blood of Jesus Christ. I trust they will conclude well in it, by the help of the Holy Ghost, without whom such matters cannot well be tried.

"'Part of our bishops that have been most stift in opinion of the reality of His body—that as He was here on earth, so should He be in the bread—now confess and say that they were not of that opinion. But yet there is hard hold with some to the contrary, who shall relent when it pleaseth God.'

"The victory was still doubtful on the 26th of December, and Peter Martyr was in alarm at the vigour and determination of the Catholics. If the body of Gardiner were in the Tower, his spirit was abroad and powerful. 'There is so much contention about the eucharist,' Martyr said, 'that every corner is full of it. Every day the question is discussed among the Lords, with such disputing of bishops as was never heard, the Commons thronging the Lords' galleries to hear the arguments.'

"The nature of the debates can be conjectured only from the result, which, as on the other questions, was a compromise. On the 15th of January, the Act of Uniformity was passed, eight bishops—London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester—the Earl of Derby, Lord Windsor, and Lord Dacres, remaining to the last dissentient.

"These would have no change; they would have retained the Breviary and Missal. The first communion service was retained, with scarcely an alteration, and the mystery of the eucharist was left untouched; the minister was still uniformly called a priest; the communion table uniformily an altar; and prayers for the dead were retained in the burial service, and in the prayer for the church militant."

"The Parliament was on the 14th of March prorogued," so Bishop Burnet tells us, "to the 4th of November, the clergy having granted the king a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years.

"In the preamble of the bill of subsidy they acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed under him, having no let nor impediment in the service of God.

"But the laity set out their subsidy [twelvepence in the pound] with a much fuller preamble of the great happiness they had by the true religion of Christ, declaring that they were ready to forsake all things rather than Christ." An evidence of how few members were now sent to Parliament to represent the popish party.

Returning to Froude, he tells us that "the new Prayer Book was read in all churches for the first time on Whit-Sunday, the 9th of June 1549, and the mass, the Jacob's ladder by which for thirty generations the souls of men were supposed to have climbed to heaven, was to be put down and prohibited by law.

"The Bishop of London [Bonner] had resisted to the last, in the House of Lords, the alteration of the services. He had not ventured to interfere with the introduction of the Prayer Book into

his diocese, but it was observed that he never officiated in English —that 'in London and elsewhere he was reported to frequent foreign rites and masses such as were not allowed by the order of the realm.'"

And refusing to comply with the Act when requested, he was sent to prison and eventually deprived of his see.

Speaking of Bonner, Bishop Burnet says "he was little pitied by most that knew him. He was a cruel and fierce man. He understood little of divinity, his learning being chiefly in the canon law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a man of no principles. Nor did his carriage during his imprisonment discover much of a bishop or a Christian."

In Devonshire and Cornwall opposition to the Prayer Book became so troublesome that the council found it necessary to send an army to Exeter under Lord Russell; and, notwithstanding the strict injunction of Somerset to be mild and forbearing against the deluded multitude, the greater part of the rebels caught by the troops fell under the sword, while numbers were hung on gibbets along the roads.

A priest of the old type, the Vicar of St. Thomas', Exeter, a great hater of the Prayer Book, had been an active participator in the rebellion, and a man named Kingsmill had been taken prisoner by the rebels while carrying a letter from the Mayor to Lord Russell, who was with the king's forces.

This man was brought before the vicar for judgment.

"The vicar," Froude tells us, "laboured in his priestly calling to make his prisoner a rebel, and, not succeeding, had hung him on an elm-tree outside the west gate of the city.

"And now his own time was come, 'it was pity of him,' men thought, for he had a fine nature; but there was no help for it. Kingsmill's death lay at his door; a court-martial found it there, and he [the vicar] accepted his fate like a gentleman.

"A beam was put out from St. Thomas' Church tower, from which they swung him off into the air, and there Hooker saw him hanging in chains in 'his popish apparel, a holy-water bucket and sprinklers, a sacring bell, and a pair of beads' dangling about his body, and there he hung till the clothes rotted away and the carrion crows had pecked him into a skeleton; and down below in St. Thomas Church order reigned, and a new vicar read the English liturgy."

Another revolt of the people, this time in Norfolk, was caused by the enclosing of commons, where, sheep farms being the fashion, fewer labourers were required than for arable land.

And while such enclosures added to the wealth of the landlords, the villagers, who used to turn their pigs and geese to graze on the commons, were now deprived of that right.

Excited by their grievances, the peasantry rose under a leader named Ket, a tanner, and formed a camp close to Norwich, where they are said to have conducted their proceedings in an orderly manner, but some of the offending gentry were arrested and brought into the camp and kept prisoners.

Somerset would have preferred to redress their grievances, but Earl Warwick, with a majority of the council, were for an appeal to arms.

Warwick led an army to Norfolk against the iusurgents, and some three thousand of them fell in battle.

The suppression of this insurrection thus fell not to the credit of the Protector, but to the council, and Somerset from this time was superseded in his high office by Warwick.

"Somerset's intentions had been good," says Froude, "but there were so many of them that he was betrayed by their very number. He was popular with the multitude, for he was the defender of the poor against the rich; but the magnificent weakness of his character had aimed at achievements beyond his ability.

"He had attempted the work of a giant with the strength of a woman, and in his failures he was passionate and unmanageable; while the princely name and the princely splendour which he affected, the vast fortune which he had amassed amidst the ruin of the national finances, combined to embitter the irritation with which the council regarded him.

He had shown ability as a general, and his courage in the field was unimpeachable, but in social and political life his tendency was ever to confound the hopes and fears, and to govern himself rather by momentary emotion than by serious thought."

In October the council committed him to the Tower, and Parliament, assembling November 4th, at once passed a long bill of pains and penalties against him, to which he pleaded guilty.

He had a large fortune, and Parliament now passed a bill by which his personal property was declared forfeited to the crown; and he was adjudged, besides, to pay the large sum of £10,000 as a fine on retaining his estates.

In February of the following year he was released from imprisonment, and, four days after, he received a royal pardon.

On the 10th of April he was reappointed to a seat at the privy council and his fine remitted; and "the fortune," says Froude, "which he still possessed enabled him to maintain a princely establishment. No English minister had ever descended against his will from so high a station with a fall so easy.

"The fall of the Protector," continues the historian, "was a signal for revived hope among the Catholics.

"In Oxford mass was again celebrated in the college chapels. Bonner and Gardiner appealed against the oppression to which they had been subjected. The emperor shared the expectation, and intimitated that a return to orthodoxy would be rewarded by a return to friendship.

"Southampton, Shrewsbury, and Arundel had taken part in the deposition of Somerset, the first and last being distinctly, the second moderately, Catholic. The Earl of Warwick himself was untroubled with religious convictions of any kind, and might take either side with equal unconscientiousness.

"The part which he had taken in putting down the insurrection had given him for the moment the control of the position, and Warwick, whose single and peculiar study was the advancement of himself and his family, determined to adhere to the party of which he could be the undisputed chief.

"Had he brought the Catholics into power, he must have released the Duke of Norfolk from the Tower, and Gardiner with him. Shrewsbury, Oxford, Rutland, Derby, the lords of the old blood, would have reappeared in public life, and in such a circle Lord Warwick must soon have sunk to the level of his birth.

"It was more tempting for him to lead those who had made their way into rank through the revolution than to sink into a satellite of the Howards, the Stanleys, and the Talbots.

"Southampton therefore retired again into obscurity, and soon died. A charge of peculation was brought against Arundel, who was removed from his office of lord chamberlain and fined £12,000, and the petitions of the imprisoned bishops remained unnoticed.

"The measures brought forward by the Government in Parliament left no doubt indeed that, with respect to religion, the policy of the past three years would be continued and carried further.

"A violent Act was passed against images and paintings in the face of the Catholic opposition in the House of Lords. No statues

or figures of any kind were to remain in the parish churches, except the monumental figures of kings or nobles who had never been taken for saints.

"And the Prayer Book being the only religious service necessary or tolerable, 'antiphones, missals, scrayles, processionals, manuals, legends, portnyses, primers in Latin or English, conchers, journals, ordinals,' and similar books, were to be taken away, burnt, or otherwise destroyed."

In this year, 1st of April, 1550, Ridley* was translated from Rochester as the successor of Bonner in the see of London; while Heath, Bishop of Worcester, for his opposition to the Act against images, in Parliament, was sent to prison.

The see of Westminster, founded by the late king, was dissolved, and the jurisdiction re-annexed to London.

Ridley, on coming into his new see, felt it his duty to visit a Kentish woman named Joan Bocker, who had been condemned to the stake and left in prison by Somerset's heresy commission for an erroneous opinion on the nature of the incarnation.

He reasoned with her the day before her execution. "It was not long," she said, "since you burnt Anne Askew for a piece of bread, yet came yourselves to believe the doctrine for which you burnt her; and now you will me for a piece of flesh, and in the end will believe this also."

"She would not recant, and so she died, being one of the very few victims," says Froude, "of the ancient hatred of heresy with which the Reformed Church of England has to charge itself."

Anticipating an early alteration in the Prayer Book, Ridley, on the night of the 11th of the following June, caused the altar at St. Paul's to be taken down, and a table erected in its place, "signifying in the change that the body of the Saviour was no longer broken and offered in the sacrament, but that human beings merely partook together of innocent bread and wine."

The council, approving the bishop's proceedings, directed the same change to be introduced throughout England. The Bishop of Chichester, hesitating to obey, was summoned to London and shut up with Gardiner, Bonner and Heath.

The late Protector, regaining to some extent his lost power, carried in the council the nomination of Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester "against a vehement opposition."

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* One of two bishops from whom George Marsh received "orders," probably in 1552, when he went to Allhallows, Bread Street, in the City, as curate to Saunders.

He failed, however, in his desire to restore Gardiner to his diocese, the conditions insisted upon by the council being more stringent than the bishop was willing to comply with, but ultimately he was accorded a trial.

A court was formed at Lambeth, where Cranmer resided. Ridley, Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and two other bishops sat as assessors, and more than eighty witnesses were examined.

He was accused of having attempted to create a disturbance in his diocese, a charge which broke down.

To the accusation of having armed his household, he answered that, in common with other gentlemen, he had put his house in a state of defence in consequence of the disorder of the country.

He was convicted of having professed popish opinions, and proved to have been suspected by Henry VIII. of a tendency towards Rome, for which his name was excluded from the list of Henry's executors.

But for these offences no punishment was inflicted, and the prosecution therefore turned upon a sermon he had been required to preach on one or two important subjects, just before he was sent to the Tower.

In this he had complied inadequately, it was said, with the royal injunctions, and had aggravated his offence by irreverent demeanour towards his judges.

Upon these two points he was declared to have been guilty of a misdemeanour against the commonwealth, and he was pronounced, on the 14th February, 1551, by the president, to be deposed from his bishopric.

On the sentence being read to him, he called his judges "heretics and sacramentaries."

The council sat next day to determine on his further punishment, and they decided that he should not only remain in the Tower, but in a meaner lodging.

On the 26th of April Ponet was translated from Rochester to Gardiner's see of Winchester, but the estates of the bishopric were transferred to the crown in exchange for a few impropriated rectories. Dr. Scory succeeded Ponet at Rochester.

Other changes took place at this time. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was deposed for his opposition to the Act against images, and his place taken by Hooper, the latter's see of Gloucester being suppressed and added to the former, and the estates surrendered.

Taylor*, from being Dean, was made Bishop of Lincoln, in the place of Holbeach, deceased; while, at the same time, Miles Coverdale was sent to Exeter, Veysey resigning the see, "pretending extreme old age; but he had reserved £485 a year in pension for himself, during life, out of the lands of the Bishopric, and almost all the rest he had basely alienated, taking care only of himself, and ruining his successors.

"So now," continues the Bishop, referring to these changes, "the Bishoprics were generally filled with men well affected to the Reformation, and being addicted to the purity of religion, most of the year was spent in preparing articles, which should contain the doctrine of the Church of England. I have found it often said that they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley; and that they were by them sent about to others, to correct or add to them as they saw cause.

"They began with the assertion of the blessed Trinity, the incarnation of the eternal Word, and Christ's descent into hell; grounding this last on those words of St. Peter, of his 'preaching to the spirits that were in prison.'"

In all forty-two Articles—and, revised in Queen Elizabeth's time, they form the basis of the thirty-nine "Articles of Religion" found in our Prayer-book of to-day.

"Thus," says the Bishop, alluding to all the Articles, "was the doctrine cast into a short and plain form; in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of popery; avoiding the niceties of schoolmen, or the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; leaving, in matters that are more justly controvertable, a liberty to divines to follow their private opinion, without thereby disturbing the peace of the Church.

"The next business in which the reformers were employed was the correcting the Common Prayer-book, and the making some addition, with the changing of such particulars as had been retained only for a time.

"The most considerable additions were, that in the daily service they prepared a short, but most simple and grave, form of a general confession of sins; in the use of which they intended that those who made this confession should not content themselves with a bare recital of the words, but should join with them, in their hearts, a particular confession of their private sins to God.

* The other Bishop, from whom George Marsh received "orders," probably before leaving Cambridge.

"To this was added a general absolution for pronouncing, in the name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent and unfeignedly believe the gospel, for it was thought that the pronouncing a pardon upon these conditions would have a better effect on the people than that absolute and unqualified pardon which priests were wont to give in confession; by which absolution, in times of popery, the people were made to believe that their sins were thereupon certainly forgiven, than which nothing could be invented that would harden them into a more fatal security, when they thought a full pardon could be so readily purchased. But now they heard the terms, on which only they could expect it, every day promulgated to them.

"The other addition was also made, upon good consideration, in the office of the Communion, to which the people were observed to come without due seriousness or preparation; therefore, for awakening their consciences more feelingly, it was ordered that the office of the Communion should begin with a solemn pronouncing of the Ten Commandments, all the congregation being on their knees, as if they were hearing that law anew; and a stop to be made at every Commandment, for the people's devotion, of imploring mercy for their past offences, and grace to observe it for the time to come.

"This seemed as effectual a means as they could devise, till Church penitence were again set up, to beget in men deep reflections on their sins, and to prepare them thereby to receive the holy sacrament worthily.

"The other changes were the removing of some rites which had been retained in the former book, such as the prayers for souls departed, both in the Communion-service and in the office of burial; the leaving out some passages in the Consecration of the Eucharist that seemed to favour the belief of the corporal presence, with the use of the cross in it, and in confirmation; with some smaller variations; and, indeed, they brought the whole Liturgy to the same form in which it is now, except some inconsiderable variations that have been since made for the clearance of some ambiguities.

"Thus were the reformations both of doctrine and worship prepared, to which all I can add of this year [1551] is, that there were eighteen eminent preachers chosen out to be the king's chaplains in ordinary. Two of those were always to attend at court, and the rest were sent over England [two of them into Lancashire] to preach and instruct the people, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty."

CHAPTER XLVI.

HITHERTO the Princess Mary had been allowed to use her own religion. Now, August 1551, the council thought it quite time to withdraw the privilege and compel her to submit to the Act of Uniformity.

"To obtain a personal interview with her, they made use," so Froude tells us, "of an accidental change of residence on her part, to express a fear that she was in correspondence with foreign powers who contemplated an invasion of England, and they called upon her to appear at the court and explain herself.

"Mary obeyed. She rode into London surrounded by a retinue of peers, knights, and gentlemen, every one ostentatiously wearing a chain of beads.

"After resting two days at a house at St. John's, she went in the same state through Fleet Street and the Strand to Whitehall, amidst the benedictions of tens of thousands of people. She alighted at the palace gate. She was first introduced to the king, and afterwards she went at his side to the council chamber.

"'It was then declared to her how long her mass had been suffered in hope of her reconciliation.' As that hope had ceased, it was to be suffered no longer.

"What was said of her supposed intrigues, or if anything was said, is not certain. The mass was the great question on which all else was turning.

"Mary, whose will never yielded to man, except it was her father, replied that her soul was God's; she would not change her faith, nor would she 'dissemble her opinions with contrary doings.'

"The council told her that no constraint was laid upon her faith; she must conform her practice; she was not a king to rule, but a subject to obey; her example might breed inconvenience.

"Consistent, however, to her plea that laws made in a minority were no laws, she would neither admit their argument nor flinch in her own resolution.

"The interview led to no result. Mary left the presence, and returned to the house [Copt Hall] in Essex from which her removal had been made the pretext of agitation."

"As the moment draws near," adds Froude, later on, "when Mary will step forward to the front of the historical stage, it is time

to give some distinct account of her. She was born in February, 1515-16, and was therefore in her thirty-sixth year.

"Her face was broad, but drawn and sallow; the forehead, though, projecting too much at the top, and indicating rather passion and determination than intellectual strength.

"Her eyes were dauntless, bright, steady, and apparently piercing; but she was short-sighted, and insight either into character or thing was not among her capabilities.

"She was short and ill-figured. Above the waist she was spare, from continued ill-health; below, it is enough to say that she inherited her father's dropsical tendencies, which were beginning to show themselves.

"Her voice was deep, like a man's; she had a man's appetite, especially for meat; and in times of danger, a man's promptness of action.

"But she was not without a lady's accomplishments. She embroidered well; played on the lute well; she could speak English, Latin, French and Spanish, and she could read Italian; and if she had masculine energy, she had with it a woman's power of braving and enduring suffering.

"By instinct, by temperament, by hereditary affection, she was an earnest Catholic; and whatever she believed, she believed thoroughly without mental reservation, without allowing her personal interests either to tint her convictions or to tempt her to disguise them.

"As long as her mother (Queen Catherine) lived, she had braved her father's anger, and clung to her and her cause. On her mother's death she had agreed to the separation from the papacy as a question of policy touching no point of faith or conscience.

"She had accepted the alterations introduced by her father, and, had nothing else intervened, she might have maintained as a sovereign what she had honestly admitted as a subject. Her own persecution only, and the violent changes enforced by the doctrinal reformers, taught her to believe that, apart from Rome, there was no security for orthodoxy."

It was at this time that Warwick was made Duke of Northumberland, and "the new duke," says Bishop Burnet, "could no longer bear such a rival in his greatness as the Duke of Somerset was, who was the only person that he thought could take the king out of his hands. So, on the 17th of October, the Duke of Somerset was apprehended and sent to the Tower.

"The evidence against the duke was, that he had made a party for getting himself declared Protector in the next Parliament, which the Earl of Rutland did positively affirm; and the duke did so answer it, that it was probable it was true. But though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime."

On the 1st of December the Duke of Somerset was brought to his trial. The peers that judged him were twenty-seven in number, and the crimes laid against him were, that "he had designed to have seized on the king's person, and so have governed all affairs; and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland; and that he had designed an insurrection in the city of London.

"The Duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with law, did not desire council to plead or assist him in point of law, but only answered to matter of fact. He prefaced that he desired no advantage might be taken against him for any idle or angry word that might have at any time fallen from him.

"He protested he never intended to have raised the northern parts; that he had never determined to have killed the Duke of Northumberland, or any person, but had only talked of it, without any intention of doing it; that he never designed to raise any stirs in London.

"When the peers withdrew, it seems the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or of the killing the gendarmes, did not satisfy them; so they only held to that point of conspiring to imprison the Duke of Northumberland. After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason, but the greater number found him guilty of felony.

"The duke had carried himself all the while of the trial with great temper and patience, and when sentence was given he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the Dukes of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill-intentions against them; and made suit for his life, and for his wife and children. From thence he was carried back to the Tower."

Sentenced to death, "his execution," says Froude, "took place on Tower Hill, at eight o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of January, 1552; and as the day dawned, the great square and every avenue of approach to it were thronged with spectators.

"Somerset's countenance was singularly handsome, and both his features and his person were marked with an habitual expression

of noble melancholy. Amidst his many faults, he was every inch a gentleman.

"He was dressed in the splendid costume which he had worn in receptions of state. As he stepped upon the scaffold, he knelt and said a short prayer. He then rose, and, bowing to the people, spoke at some length of having always been a faithful, true, and most loving subject of the king, and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forward of the commonwealth of his realm, at which voices answered 'Yes, yes, yes,' and 'This is found now too true.'

"Dropping his cloak," says Froude, "he unbuckled his sword, which he presented to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and, after a few words with the Dean of Christ Church [Dr. Cox, the king's tutor], who attended him, he loosened his shirt-collar and knelt quietly before the block.

"Three times he was heard to say 'Lord Jesus, save me.' The headman's arm rose, fell, and all was over; and so passionately was Somerset loved, that those who were nearest the scaffold started forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood.

"His errors were forgotten in the tragedy of his end, and the historian who in his life sees so much to censure, can find but good words for the victim of the treachery of Northumberland.

"At this time Archbishop Cranmer, keeping himself aloof more and more from the council and their doings, was working silently at the English Prayer Book.

"No plunder of church or crown," says Froude, "had touched the hands of Cranmer; no fibre of political intrigue, or crime, or conspiracy could be traced to the palace at Lambeth.

"Happily for his memory, and happily for the Church of England, the archbishop was more nobly occupied.

"As the translation of the Bible bears upon it the imprint of the mind of Tyndal, so, while the Church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the Liturgy.

"The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the Breviary, yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church bells in the ears of the English child.

"The translations and the address, which are original, have the same simplicity of spirit.

"He was the representative of the feelings of the best among his countrymen.

"With the reverent love for the past, which could appropriate its excellencies, he could feel at the same time the necessity for change.

"While he could no longer regard the sacraments with a superstitious idolatry, he saw in them ordinances divinely appointed, and therefore especially, if inexplicably, sacred.

"In this temper, for the most part, the English church services had now, after patient labour, been at length completed by him, and were about to be laid before Parliament.

"They had grown slowly. First had come the primers of Henry VIII., then the Litany was added, and then the first Communion Book.

"The next step was the Prayer Book, in 1549; and now, at last, the complete Liturgy, which survives after three hundred years.

"In a few sentences only, inserted apparently under the influence of Ridley, doctrinal theories were pressed beyond the point to which opinion was legitimately gravitating. The priest was converted absolutely into a minister, the altar into a table, the eucharist into a commemoration, and a commemoration only.

"But these peculiarities were incongenial with the rest of the Liturgy, and, on the final establishment of the Church of England, were dropped or modified.

"They were, in fact, the seed of vital alterations, for which the nation was unprepared, and from amidst the foul weeds in which the roots were buried it stands up beautiful, the one admirable thing which the unhappy reign produced.

"Prematurely born, and too violently forced upon the country, it was, nevertheless, the right thing—the thing which essentially answered to the spiritual demands of the nation.

"They rebelled against it because it was precipitately thrust upon them, but services which have overlived so many storms speak for their own excellence, and speak for the merit of the workman.

"As the Liturgy was prepared for Parliament and people, so for the Convocation and clergy there were drawn up a body of articles of religion—forty-two of them as they were first devised, thirty-nine as they are now known to the theological student.

"These also have survived, and, like other things in this country, have survived their utility and the causes which gave them

birth. Articles of belief they have been called, Articles of teaching, Articles of peace.

"In January, 1552, the Prayer Book, commonly called the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., passed Parliament without difficulty, and a second Act was passed for uniformity of religious worship, persons who refused to come to church being liable to censure or excommunication; those who attended any other service, to imprisonment.

"At the end of March, Cranmer produced in the House of Lords his reformed code of canon law. Northumberland rose, and, turning fiercely on the archbishop, bade him attend to the duties of his office. The clergy were going beyond their province, presuming in their sermons to touch the doings of their superiors. 'You bishops,' he said, 'look to it at your peril. Take heed that the like happen not again, or you and your preachers shall suffer for it together.'

"The archbishop ventured a mild protest. He had heard no complaints of the preachers, he said; they might have spoken of vices and abuses; he did not know. 'There were vices enough,' Northumberland answered violently, 'no doubt of that; the fruits of the Gospel in this life were sufficiently meagre.'

"Assailed in the pulpit, thwarted in the Commons, hated by the people, the haughty minister found his temper failing him, and the smooth exterior less easy to maintain.

"He had secured the subsidy for which Parliament assembled. The continued sitting of it was inconvenient when his own nominees had opposed him. On the last of March, within a month of the meeting, it was dissolved.

"He had affected extreme Protestant opinions to keep his place with the Reformers. He was Imperialist, he was French, he had an anchor thrown out in all quarters from which a wind might blow.

"However events might turn, he had done something, or he had effected something, which would provide him a resource should he be driven to shift his colours.

"But this uncertain attitude could not be maintained for ever. A crisis came which compelled him to choose his course.

"Edward, with varying health, had arrived at the age fatal to the male Tudors, the age at which Prince Arthur had died, at which his brother, the Duke of Richmond, had died.

CHAPTER XLVII.

"ABOUT the end of May or beginning of June," continues the bishop, "the Duke of Suffolk's three daughters were married; the eldest, Lady Jane, to the Lord Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland; the second, the Lady Catherine, to the Earl of Pembroke's eldest son, the Lord Herbert; the third, the Lady Mary, who was crooked, to the king's groom porter, Martin Keys. The Duke of Northumberland married his two daughters, the eldest to Sir Henry Sidney, son of Sir William Sidney, that had been steward to the king when he was prince; the other was married to the Lord Hastings, son to the Earl of Huntingdon.

"The people were mightily inflamed against the Duke of Northumberland, for it was generally given out that he was sacrificing the king to his own extravagant ambition. He seemed little to regard their censures, but attended on the king most constantly, and expressed all the care and concern about him that was possible. And finding that nothing went so near the king's heart as the ruin of religion, which he apprehended would follow upon his death, when his sister Mary should come to the throne; upon that, he and his party took advantage to propose to him to settle the crown by his letters patents on the Lady Jane Grey. How they prevailed with him to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well understand.

"But the king, being wrought over to this, the Duchess of Suffolk, who was next in King Henry's will, was ready to devolve her right on her daughter, even though she should come afterwards to have sons. So, on the 11th of June, Montague, that was chief-justice of the Common Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two judges, with the king's attorney and solicitor, were commanded to come to council. There they found the king with some privy-counsellors about him.

"The king told them he did now apprehend the danger the kingdom might be in if, upon his death, his sister Mary should succeed, and so change the laws and the religion of the realm. So he ordered some articles to be read to them, of the way in which he would have the crown to descend.

"They objected that the Act of Parliament could not be taken away by any such device; yet the king required them to take the

articles, and draw a book according to them. They asked a little time to consider of it.

"When they came again to the council, they declared they could not do what the king required, for it was treason. Upon which, the Duke of Northumberland threatened all the judges, so that they thought he would have beaten them. The king was present, and he somewhat sharply asked them why they had not prepared the book as he ordered them. They answered, tha whatever they did would be of no force without Parliament, and proposed that it might be delayed till the Parliament.

"But the king said he would have it first done, and then ratifie in Parliament; and therefore he required them, on their allegiance, to go about it. This put them in a great consternation, and Montague consented to set about it if he might have a commission requiring him to do it, and a pardon under the great seal when it was done. Both these being granted, Montague and the other judges did all agree.

"So they put the entail of the crown in form of law, and brought it to the lord chancellor to put the seal to it. After that, the lord chancellor, for his security, desired that all the counsellors might set their hands to it; which was done on the 21st of June by thirty-three of them."

Cranmer, absent from the council at this time, "on design," says the bishop, now called upon to sign the document, refused, and "could not be prevailed on, till the king himself set on him; who used many arguments, from the danger religion would otherwise be in, together with other persuasions; so that, by his reasons, or rather importunities, at last he brought him to it.

"But though," continues the bishop, "the settling this business gave the king great content in mind, yet his distemper rather increased than abated, so that the physicians had no hope of his recovery; upon which, a confident woman came, and undertook his cure if he might be put into her hands.

"This was done, and the physicians were put from him, upon this pretence, that they, having no hopes of his recovery, in a desperate case desperate remedies were to be used. This was said to be the Duke of Northumberland's advice in particular, and it increased the people's jealousy of him when they saw the king grow very sensibly worse every day after he came under the woman's care; which becoming so plain, she was put from him, and the physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge.

"But if they had small hopes before, they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the Duke of Northumberland, who knew he had done but half his work except he had the king's sisters in his hands, got the council to write to them in the king's name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness. But as they were on the way, on the 6th of July, his spirits and body were so sunk that he found death approaching, and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner.

"His whole exercise was in short prayers and ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words: 'Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among Thy chosen; howbeit, not my will, but Thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to Thee. O Lord, Thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with Thee; yet for Thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve Thee. O Lord God, bless my people, and save Thine inheritance. O Lord God, save Thy chosen, the people of England. O Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain Thy true religion, that I and my people may praise Thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake.'

"And soon after, the pangs of death coming on him, he said to Sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his arms: 'I am faint; Lord, have mercy on me, and receive my spirit'; and so he breathed out his innocent soul. He was then in his sixteenth year of age, and was counted the wonder of that time."

It was the wish of Northumberland that Edward's death should be kept secret for a time, but within a few minutes after a courier was galloping on his way to Hunstanton, Mary's residence, to bid her mount and fly.

She had prepared her plans some days before, and the Howards, of Kenninghall Castle, Norfolk, were ready to receive her.

Relays of horses along the road, and such other precautions as could be taken without exciting suspicion, were not overlooked, and when Lord Dudley and his men, sent by his father Northumberland to seize her, arrived at her abode, he found she had anticipated him, and was then far on her way to the home of the Howards, proclaiming her accession as she went along, and sending out her letters calling Englishmen to rise in her defence.

There she safely arrived, after riding night and day without a halt, and, in safe hands, waited the effect of an appeal to her country.

Returning to Lady Jane Grey, she had begged, when married, herself so young, 16, and her husband Dudley scarcely older, that she might continue to reside with her mother, and Lady Northumberland consenting, she remained at home till fetched away a few days before Edward's death.

The Duchess and her son, Lord Guildford Dudley, came for her, and Lady Suffolk objecting, Dudley commanded Lady Jane, on her allegiance, as his wife, to return with him; and, unwilling to disobey her husband, she consented.

Lady Jane had heard of the serious condition of the king's health, but knew not for what purpose she was so suddenly carried away.

After being kept a prisoner by the duchess for three or four days, she was taken to a house of the duke's at Chelsea, and on Sunday, the 9th of July, the third day after Edward's death, of which she had evidently not been made aware, a message was brought that she was wanted immediately at Sion House to receive an order from the king.

She went alone, and was received by Lady Northumberland, Lady Northampton, and their husbands, with several other dukes and lords.

The Duke of Northumberland, as president of the council, rose to speak. "The king," he said, "was no more; a godly life had been followed, as a consolation to their sorrows, by a godly end, and in leaving the world he had not forgotten his subjects."

Then, after referring to the king's reasons for setting aside his two sisters, and stating that Henry VIII. did not intend that the crown should be worn by either of them, went on to say that "King Edward, therefore, had before his death bequeathed it to his cousin Lady Jane; and should the Lady Jane die without children, to her younger sister; and he had entreated the council, for their honours' sake, and for the sake of the realm, to see that his will was observed."

Lady Jane Grey, overcome at this announcement, fell fainting to the ground.

Her first simple grief was for Edward's death, of which till now she appears not to have known. She felt for the loss as of a beloved brother.

When she came to herself, she cried that it could not be, the crown was not for her, she was not fit for it; but if it was justly

hers, she prayed God would give her grace to govern for His service and for the welfare of His people.

Circulars were now sent out to the sheriffs, mayors, and magistrates, announcing the accession of Queen Jane, and the troops were sworn to the new sovereign.

Next day being Sunday, the 9th of July, Lady Jane passed the day at Sion House, and at three o'clock on Monday she sailed down the Thames in the royal barges and landed at the broad staircase at the Tower.

At the same time the heralds-at-arms, with a company of the guards, rode into the city, and at the cross in Cheapside proclaimed Lady Jane Grey queen, the crowd looking on impassively.

In the evening, messengers came in to the Lords who were with Lady Jane Grey in the Tower, with news that Mary had proclaimed herself queen, and that she had from ten to fifteen thousand men with her; but this they could hardly believe, as they expected every hour to hear that she had been taken by Lord Warwick and Lord Robert Dudley, who were gone in pursuit.

Shortly after, however, a letter was brought in to the Lords from Mary, requiring them, on receipt thereof, to "cause our right and title to the crown to be proclaimed in our city of London and such other places as in your wisdom shall seem good."

Yet it was not till Wednesday that Northumberland became really alarmed. On that day messengers came in with tidings that the Dudleys had come up with Mary the day before, as she was on her way from Kenninghall to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk.

They had dashed into her escort, but their own men immediately turned round, declared for Mary, and they had escaped capture only by the speed of their horses.

News also came of many noble lords having declared in favour of Mary, and that Lord Derby had risen in Cheshire and was reported to be marching south with twenty thousand men, while Sir Peter Carew the hope of the western Protestants, had proclaimed Mary queen in the towns of Devonshire.

This unwelcome news alarmed the council, and it was resolved that Northumberland, with the army, should meet Mary in the field, Suffolk to take charge of the Tower and London.

Newmarket, in Norfolk, was chosed as the rendezvous of the army. The men were to go down in companies, the duke to follow on Friday.

With the consent of the council, the duke took out a commission under the great seal as general of the army, which they were forced to sign; and before he left the town he reminded them that Lady Jane was on the throne but through his influence and theirs, so he trusted to their honours to keep the oath which they had sworn.

The next morning, Friday, he rode out of London accompanied by his four sons, Lord Northampton, and about six hundred men.

The streets were thronged with spectators, but all observed silence. "The people press to see us, but not one saith 'God speed us,'" said Northumberland.

The principal conspirator was now out of the way; Northampton and the young Dudleys were gone, except Lord Dudley, Lady Jane's husband, of the faction attached to Northumberland; and he was marching to his destruction. Lords Winchester and Arundel had signed the letters patent with the deliberate intention of betraying Northumberland when a chance should present itself.

Cranmer had taken part unwillingly with Lady Jane, but he meant to keep his promise, having once given it.

Sir William Cecil, the secretary of state, undertook the task of bringing the council together.

Next day, Saturday, tidings came of risings in various parts of the country. Mary had been proclaimed in Oxford.

Stress of weather had driven the fleet, which left the Thames on the 12th, carefully equipped, into Yarmouth Harbour; troops had landed and espoused the cause of Mary.

The report becoming known in the army was the signal for mutiny, and Northumberland sent a courier at full speed to the council for more men.

The lords of the council now held their meetings in the Tower, where apartments had been provided for them, and they were not allowed to leave for their own homes. Winchester made an excuse to go to his house, but he was sent for and brought back at midnight.

Northumberland, now at Cambridge, again wrote for help.

On Wednesday morning, the 19th July, word came that the Earl of Oxford had joined Mary.

Towards the middle of the day, Winchester, Arundel, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Paget, Cheyne, Mason, and Petre, members of the council, found means of escaping, and made for Baynard Castle, where they met the lord mayor, aldermen, and other influential persons of the city.

Addressing the meeting, Arundel said the country was on the brink of civil war if they continued to support Lady Jane, and in such a conflict the triumph of either party would be injurious to the honour, unity, freedom, and happiness of England.

It was for his hearers to decide if there should be peace or war, and he implored them to restore the crown to her who was their lawful sovereign.

Pembroke, rising next, said the words of Arundel were good and true, and for himself (brandishing his sword), "if words are not enough, this blade shall make Mary queen, or I will lose my life."

Not a voice was raised for Lady Jane, and Shrewsbury and Mason at once hastened off to London, and, with a hundred men, marched directly to the Tower gates, and the keys were demanded in Mary's name.

Suffolk offered no resistance; the gates were opened, and the unhappy father rushed to his daughter's room to tell her of the revolt of the council, and that she was no longer queen.

She calmly replied that his words were more welcome to her than those in which he advised her to accept the crown.

Meanwhile, the lords, with the lord mayor and the heralds, proclaimed Mary queen from the cross in Cheapside, and the news was received throughout London with great rejoicing.

The council met in the evening, when a letter was despatched to Northumberland, ordering him, in the name of the queen, to lay down his arms; and in another letter, addressed to Mary, they expressed their contrition and begged for forgiveness.

Northumberland had already been arrested and given in charge to a guard of his soldiers, while Arundel was on his way from the queen, having conveyed the council's letter to her, to secure him.

"Be good to me," said Northumberland, as he flung himself at Arundel's feet; "consider I have done nothing but by the consent of you and the council." Arundel replied that he had been sent by the queen's majesty, "and in her name I do arrest you."

The conspiracy was thus crushed, and, happily, without bloodshed.

All this time no one had given a thought to Edward's funeral, and his dead body was still lying in his bed at Greenwich.

On the 25th of July, Northumberland and Lord Ambrose Dudley, his son, were brought in from Cambridge, and on his way to the Tower was assailed from all sides with yells.

His scarlet cloak was plucked from his back, while the only sounds which greeted his ears were "Traitor, traitor, death to the traitor!"

Mary now left Framlingham, whither Lords Derby, Sussex, Bath, and Oxford, had hurried to her support, and, moving slowly towards London, reached her old mansion of Newhall in Essex at the end of the month, where she remained till arrangements had been made for her entry into the city.

Lady Northumberland went to Newhall to plead for her sons, but Mary refused to see her.

On the 3rd of August, Mary set out for London in the midst of a splendid company of knights and nobles.

Elizabeth, escorted by two thousand horse and a retinue of ladies, received her outside the gates. The sisters embraced, and side by side they rode through Aldgate, at seven in the evening, amidst the shouts of the people and pealing of church bells.

Charmed by the enthusiastic reception, Mary could find no room, it is said, for hard thoughts of anyone. Suffolk was free; Northumberland should be spared, if possible; and of Lady Jane, justice forbade, she said, that she should suffer for the crimes of others. But it was nothing more than a transient compassion; all three eventually came to the block.

Her first active steps, after she came to the Tower, was to release and restore to their sees the imprisoned bishops—Gardiner, Bonner, Day, Heath, and Tunstall; while bishops Ponet, Ridley, and Scory were ejected.

The Bishop of Ely was deposed from the chancellorship, and the seals given to Gardiner, now again Bishop of Winchester.

Her brother's dead body, still awaiting Christian burial, she caused it to be examined. The physicians reported that without doubt he had died of poison, but no one was charged with his murder.

Afterwards the corpse was buried, with the forms of the Church of England, at Westminster Abbey. Cranmer, the archbishop, read the service, the last and saddest function of his public ministry.

At the same time Mary attended the Tower chapel, where requiems were chanted, and Gardiner, in the presence of the queen and a congregation of four hundred persons, sang the mass for the dead with great solemnity.

Elizabeth had been invited to attend, but had refused; while among the yeomen of the guard were heard murmurs and curses

against Gardiner; but the queen, it is said, made no secret of her desire that mass should be restored.

Surrounded by thousands of armed men at the Tower, the levies of Lords Derby and Hastings, Mary longed to remove to some place where she could enjoy more freedom, and on the 12th of August she removed to Richmond.

Her absence from London is said to have encouraged the insubordination of the people.

On Sunday, the 13th, a priest was attacked at the altar of St. Bartholomew's Church; his vestments were torn from his back, and the chalice snatched from his hands.

Bourne, the queen's chaplain, preached at St. Paul's Cross to a large crowd, and while speaking of Bonner as having been unjustly imprisoned, yells rose of "Papist! Papist! Tear him down!"

A dagger was hurled at Bourne, and he would have paid for his rashness had not the martyr Bradford and Courtenay, popular favourites, protected him from the rioters till he could be carried off.

But the danger did not end here. The Protestants sounded the alarm through London. Meetings were held, and inflammatory placards were scattered about the streets.

Mary, uncertain on whom to rely, drew up a hasty proclamation forbidding her Protestant and Catholic subjects to interrupt each other's services, and prohibiting at the same time all preaching or reading openly the word of God in churches, except by licence, which Gardiner took care to give only to such as would conform to his doctrine.

The trial of the conspirators was also resolved upon; and on the 18th of August Northumberland, Lord Warwick, and the Marquis of Northampton were brought before a court of peers charged with levying war against their lawful sovereign—and, found guilty of high treason, were sentenced to death.

Northumberland, before he was led away, fell on his knees; his children were young, he said, and had acted under orders from their father; to them let the queen show mercy; for himself he had his peace to make with heaven; he entreated for a few days of life and the assistance of a confessor.

Northumberland had lived without God in the world; he had only affected religion; "and now, in his extreme need, he found," says Froude, "that he had trifled with forms and words till they had grown into a hideous hypocrisy.

"The infinate of death was opening at his feet, and he had no faith, no hope, no conviction, but only a blank and awful horror, and perhaps he felt that there was nothing left for him but to fling himself back in agony into the open arms of superstition.

"He had asked to speak with some member of the council, he had asked for a confessor, in Gardiner he had found both."

After the sentence Gardiner visited him in the Tower, where he poured out his miserable story. He was a catholic, he said; he always had been a catholic; he had believed nothing of all the doctrines for which he had pretended to be so zealous under Edward! "'Alas,' he cried, 'is there no help for me? Let me live but a little longer to do penance for my sins.'

"Already many had expressed a wish that, if possible, the wretched man should be spared, and he would have been allowed to live except for the reiterated protests of Renard in his own name and in the Emperor's.

"It was decided at last that he should die, and a priest was assigned him to prepare his soul."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ON Monday, the 21st, certain of the citizens of London were required to be in attendance at the Tower Chapel, where Northumberland and Northampton, with Lord Ambrose Dudley and two other condemned prisoners, were brought in; and, says Froude, "first kneeling, they heard Mass, saying devoutly with the bishop [Gardiner], every one of them, Confiteor."

After receiving the sacrament, they rose and turned to the people, when Northumberland, addressing them, said:

"'Truly good people, I profess here before you all that I have received the sacrament according to the true Catholic faith, and the plague that is upon the realm and upon us now is that we have erred from the faith these sixteen years; and this I protest unto you all from the bottom of my heart'; and Northampton, with the rest, did affirm the same with weeping tears.

"In exhibiting to the world the humiliation of the Gospel, the Catholic party enjoyed a pardonable triumph."

When it was over, Northumberland, hoping to save his wretched life, wrote Arundel as follows:

"'Alas! my lord,' he said, 'is my crime so heinous as no redemption but my blood can wash away the spots thereof? An old proverb there is, and that most true, A living dog is better than a dead lion.

"'Oh that it would please her good grace [the queen] to give me life, yea, the life of a dog, if I might but live and kiss her feet, and spend both life and all in her honourable service.'

"But Arundel could not save him, would not have saved him, perhaps, had he been able."

Next morning Northumberland was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, and there, kneeling, said to those present, "I beseech you all to believe that I die in the Catholic faith."

He repeated the Miserere psalm and the Paternoster, after which he made the sign of the cross upon the sawdust, and kissed it, then laid down his head and perished.

Lord Warwick, his son, had been respited the day before.

On the following Sunday, mass was said in St. Paul's in Latin, with matins and vespers; and the real presence was defended from the pulpit.

A few days later on, foreign preachers were ordered by proclamation to leave the country; and married priests were called upon either to forsake their wives or leave their benefices; and Gardiner, Bonner, Day, and Tunstal, late prisoners in the Tower, were appointed commissioners to examine into the conditions of their episcopal brethren.

Bird, having a wife, was turned out of Chester, Cotes, the prelate who, later on, sentenced George Marsh to be burnt at the stake, taking his place.

Hooper was ejected from Worcester, to make way for Heath, and committed to the Fleet prison; while Ferrars, left in prison by Northumberland, was deprived of St. David's, and still kept a prisoner.

Archbishop Holgate also, was turned out of York. Coverdale, Ridley, Scory, and Ponet had been already disposed of.

Protestant preachers, seeing that priests everywhere held themselves licensed to speak as they pleased from the pulpit, began themselves also in many places to disregard the queen's proclamation, and were imprisoned in the Tower, Marshalsea, or the Fleet.

Latimer, then at Stamford, was sent for. He appeared before the council, and was committed to the Tower.

Cranmer, the archbishop, for a letter circulated among some of his friends in the second week in September, offering to defend the communion service, and all the alterations for which he was responsible, against any one who desired to impugn them, was summoned before the council, and, accused of attempting to excite sedition among the people, was sent to the Tower, to wait there, with Ridley and Latimer, till his fate should be decided on.

"Meantime," says Froude, "the eagerness with which the country generally availed itself of the permission to restore Catholic ritual proved beyond a doubt that, except in London and a few large towns, the popular feeling was with the queen.

"The English people had no affection for the papacy; they did not wish for the re-establishment of the religious orders, or the odious domination of the clergy.

"But the majority of them did desire a celibate priesthood, the ceremonies which the custom of centuries had sanctified, and the ancient faith of their fathers as reformed by Henry VIII.

"Could Mary have been contented to pursue her victory no further, she would have preserved the heads of her subjects; and the reaction, left to complete its own tendencies, would in a few

years perhaps have accomplished in some measure her larger desires.

"But few sovereigns have understood less the effects of time and forbearance. She was deceived by the rapidity of her first success. She flattered herself that, difficult though it might be, she could build up again the ruined hierarchy [different orders of the clergy], could compel the holders of church property to open their hands, and could reunite the country to Rome.

"Before she had been three weeks on the throne, she had received a secret messenger from the Vatican and had opened a correspondence with the Pope.

"The actors in the great drama which was approaching were already commencing their parts. Reginald Pole, having attempted in vain to recover a footing in England on the accession of Edward, wrote on the 9th of August 'to Mary to say that he had been named legate, and waited her orders to fly to England.'"

The recollection that he was attainted by Act of Parliament forced him to delay, unwillingly, till he received formal permission to present himself.

It was at this time that the secret papal messenger, Commendone, afterwards made a cardinal, was permitted to confer in private with the queen, but forbidden to reveal, except to the pope or Pole, the important matters she might communicate to him.

He had remained long enough to witness a rapid change in her position; he saw the restoration of the mass; he was in London at the execution, and he learned the apostasy of Northumberland.

Now returning to Rome, "he carried," continues Froude, "letters from Mary to the Pope, with assurances of fidelity and entreaties for the absolution of the kingdom.

"But Mary was obliged to say, notwithstanding, that for the present she was in the power of the people, of whom the majority mortally detested the Holy See; and although she agreed herself in all which Pole had urged, yet that, nevertheless, necessity acknowledged no law.

"Her heretical sister was in every one's mouth, and might at any moment take her place on the throne, and for the present, she said, to her deep regret, she could not, with prudence or safety, allow the legate to come to her."

The lords of the council were now generally present at mass in the royal chapel. Elizabeth had as yet refused to appear, and the council were instructed to bring her to compliance.

QUEEN MARY.

She requested a private interview with Mary, which, with difficulty, was granted.

"The sisters, each accompanied by a single lady," writes Froude, "met in a gallery with a half-door between them.

"Elizabeth threw herself on her knees. She said that she perceived her majesty was displeased with her. She could not tell what the cause might be, unless it was religion; and for this, she said, she might be reasonably forgiven.

"She had been educated, as the queen was aware, in the modern belief, and she understood no other. If her majesty would send her books and teachers, she would read, she would listen; she could say no more.

"For the moment Mary was delighted, but, like a true Catholic, said obedience must precede faith. 'Come to the mass,' she added, 'and belief will be the reward of your submission. Make your first trial on the mass of the nativity of the blessed Virgin.'"

Elizabeth, consenting, attended this mass, but reluctantly, and the next Sunday was absent again.

Mary inquiring the reason, Elizabeth replied that she had done as her majesty had wished her to do, and would make a public declaration to that effect if desired.

The queen communicating the answer to the emperor's ambassador, Renard, now her confidential adviser, he told her that Elizabeth was the hope of the heretics, and the heretics were raising their heads; and if she lived, England would apostalize again.

Her majesty was also aggravated at being described by the council in their public documents as head of the church, "the execrable title which was the central root of the apostasy," a designation she was obliged to acknowledge with her own signature.

Mary, however, found some delight in looking forward to her coming coronation. It took place at Westminster Abbey on the 1st of October following, Gardiner anointing her with oil procured by Renard from Flanders, and "blessed by the excellent hands of the Bishop of Arras," a city in France.

Her coronation over, Mary now resolved upon entering the marriage state, and it afforded her pleasure for a time to know that her uncle, the emperor of Spain, had already expressed a wish that she would marry his son Philip, a prince nine years her junior.

Parliament, however, was much opposed to her marrying a foreign prince, and hoped to see her united to Courtenay, of the

blood royal on the maternal side. She had liberated him from the Tower, and made him Earl of Devon.

But she felt no inclination to marry one of her subjects, and we learn from Froude that at this time "the queen and the Spanish ambassador, Renard, were incessantly together, and Philip was the never-tiring subject of conversation between them.

"She talked of his disposition; she had heard that he was proud; and then he was young, and she had been told sad stories about him.

"Moreover, when she was married, she must obey as God commanded. Her husband, perhaps, might wish to place Spaniards in authority in England, and she would have to refuse, and that he would not like.

"To all of which Renard would answer that his highness was more like an angel than a man; his youth was in his favour, for he might live to see his child of age, and England has had too much experience of minorities.

"Then, touching the constant sore—'Her majesty,' he said, 'had four enemies who would never rest till they had destroyed her or were themselves destroyed—the heretics, the friends of the late Duke of Northumberland, the courts of France and Scotland, and, lastly, Elizabeth.

"'Her subjects were restless, turbulent, and changeable as the ocean of which they were so fond; the sovereigns of England had been only able to rule with a hand of iron, with severities which had earned them the name of tyrants.

"'They had not spared the blood royal in order to secure their thrones, and she, too, must act as they had acted, leaning for support, meanwhile, on the arm of a powerful prince.'

"To these dark hints Mary ever listened eagerly."

On another occasion when the queen sent for Renard, some one having told her an unpleasant story of Philip, "she conjured him to tell her whether the prince was really the good man which he had described him, Renard assured her that he was the very paragon of the world.

"She caught the ambassador's hand. 'Oh,' she exclaimed, 'do you speak as a subject whose duty it is to praise his sovereign, or do you speak as a man?'

"'Your majesty may take my life,' he answered, 'if you find him other than I have told you.'

"'Oh that I could see him!' she said. She dismissed Renard gratefully."

On the 5th of October, the first Parliament of her majesty was opened with the ancient form, so long omitted, "of the Mass of the Holy Ghost." Two Protestant bishops—Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford—who had been left as yet undisturbed in their sees, on the service commencing, rose and went out. They were not allowed to return.

In her conversation with the secret messenger, Mary had spoken of her intentions to restore the abbey lands. This Commendone had related in the open consistory at Rome, and the account had travelled back to England.

It became known just as Parliament was about to be opened, and the Commons first, the Lords immediately after, came to an instant understanding that the lay owners of abbey lands should not be disturbed in their tenures under any pretext whatsoever.

And no less distinct were the opinions expressed in the Commons on the papacy. The authority of the pope had been thrown off after a struggle which had lasted for centuries, and a victory so hardly won was not to be lightly parted with.

On the other hand, both Lords and Commons showed a general disposition to re-establish religion in the condition in which Henry VIII. left it, and the Houses were ready also to to pass a measure legitimizing the queen.

The disposition of Parliament having been generally ascertained, the restoration of the mass was submitted to the Commons, and after a discussion of some days was, according to Froude, carried by a majority of 350 against 80.

"The preamble of the bill sets forth," Bishop Burnet tells us, "the great disorders that had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion, from that which their forefathers had left them, by the authority of the Catholic church; thereupon all the laws that had been made in King Edward's time about religion were now repealed.

"And it was enacted that, from the 20th of December next, there should be no other form of divine service but what had been used in the last year of King Henry VIII., leaving it free to all till that day to use either the books appointed by King Edward, or the old ones, at their pleasure."

Writing on the same subject, Froude says that "while the House of Commons re-established the Catholic services, they

decided, after long consideration, that no punishment should be inflicted on those who declined to attend those services.

"There was to be no pope, no persecution, no restoration of the abbey lands—all of them disagreeable to a reactionary court.

"On the Spanish marriage both Lords and Commons were equally impracticable. The Catholic noblemen—the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Bath, and Sussex—were in the interest of Courtenay.

"Never on any subject was there greater unanimity in England than in the disapproval of Philip as a husband for the queen, and on the 29th of October the lower House had a petition in preparation to entreat her to choose among her subjects."

A few days after, the queen, expecting this petition, sent for Renard again. Lady Clarence, one of the queen's attendants, was the only other person present.

"The holy wafer," so we further learn from Froude, "was in the room, on an altar, which she called her protector, her guide, her adviser.

"Mary told them that she spent her days and nights in tears and prayers before it, imploring God to direct her; and as she was speaking, her emotions overcame her. She flung herself on her knees, with Renard and Lady Clarence at her side, and the three together before the altar sang the 'Veni Creator.'

"The invocation was heard in the breasts from which it was uttered.

"As the chant died into silence, Mary rose from the ground as if inspired, and announced the divine message. The prince of Spain was the chosen of heaven for the virgin queen. If miracles were required to give him to her, there was a stronger than man who would work them. The malice of the world should not keep him from her; she would cherish him and love him, and him alone.

"It was true that she had deliberately promised not to do what she was now resolved on doing, but that was no matter.

"The Commons' petition was by this time ready, but the agitation of the last scene brought on a palpitation of the heart, which for a time enabled the queen to decline to receive it."

Meanwhile, Renard busied himself in extracting from the different ministers their general views on the state of the country, and the measure which should be pursued.

Gardiner said nobles and people were against the pope, and against foreign interference of all sorts. "Let the queen accept the

choice of her people, marry Courtenay, send Elizabeth to the Tower, and extirpate heresy with fire and sword."

Renard next turned to Paget, another member of the council, who would allow Mary to choose her own husband; but she must not tamper with the succession; should she die without children, the country must not be left exposed to claims from Spain on Philip's behalf.

"Let Mary frankly acknowledge," he said, "her sister as her presumptive successor. Elizabeth might be married to Courtenay. In default of heirs of her own body, it might be avowed and understood that those two should be king and queen."

But neither the one nor the other of these proposals satisfied Mary; she would have Philip, and that without recognising her sister.

"Her object," says Froude, "was to surprise the council into committing themselves, and she succeeded.

"On the 8th of November, when they were in session in a room in the palace, Renard presented Mary, in the emperor's name, with a formal offer of Philip's hand, and requested a distinct answer, 'yes' or 'no.'

"The queen said she would consult her ministers, and repaired in agitation to the council room.

"Distrusting one another, unprepared for the sudden demand, and unable to consult in her presence, the lords made some answer, which she interpreted into acquiescence.

"Mary returned radiant with joy, and told the ambassador that his proposal was accepted."

A momentary lull followed, during which Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lady Jane Grey, and Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, with Lord Ambrose and Lord Henry Dudley, were taken from the Tower on foot to the Guildhall, and were there tried, found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death.

"Only Cranmer," Burnet tells us, "appealed to those that judged him, how unwillingly he had consented to the exclusion of the queen; that he had not done it till those whose profession it was to know the law had signed it; upon which he submitted himself to the queen's mercy.

"But they were all attainted of high treason, for levying war against the queen and conspiring to set up another in her room.

"And now Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric; but it being now designed to restore the ecclesiastical exemption

and dignity to what it had been anciently, it was resolved that he should be still esteemed archbishop, till he were solemnly degraded, according to the canon law."

It was also resolved to proceed against him for heresy, and he was taken back to the Tower with the other prisoners.

"Renard," says Froude, "wrote to the emperor on the 17th of November: "The archbishop will be executed; and Mary, triumphant, as she believed herself, on the question nearest to her heart, had told him that the melancholy which had weighed upon her from childhood was rolling away; she had never yet known the meaning of happiness, and she was about to be rewarded at last.' Rolls House MSS.

"The struggle had told upon her; she was looking aged and worn; but she considered that she had won the day, and was now ready for the Commons. They had chafed at the delay, and talked largely of their intentions, threatening to dissolve of themselves and return to their counties if the queen's answer was not satisfactory.

"The interview which followed, Mary thus described herself to Renard: 'The council were present, the speaker was introduced, and the queen received him standing.'

"In an oration, which she described as replete to weariness with fine phrases and historic precedents, the speaker requested her, in the name of the commonwealth, to marry.

"Yet, in taking a husband, her majesty's faithful Commons trusted she would not choose from abroad. A foreign prince had interests of his own which might not be English. He might involve the country in war, he might carry her highness away out of the realm, he might bring up her children in foreign habits, etc., etc.

"Let her marry, therefore, one of her subjects."

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE queen had sat down during the speaker's long and tedious speech, but when he came to the words 'marry a subject' she again started to her feet and spoke:—"'For your desire to see us married we thank you; your desire to dictate to us the consort whom we shall choose, we consider somewhat superfluous.

"'The English Parliament has not been wont to use such language to their sovereigns, and where private persons in such cases follow their private tastes, sovereigns may reasonably challenge an equal liberty.

"'If you, our Commons, force upon us a husband whom we dislike, it may occasion the inconvenience of our death; if we marry where we do not love, we shall be in our grave in three months, and the heir of whom you speak will not have been brought into being.

"'We have heard much from you of the incommodities which may attend our marriage; we have not heard from you of the commodities thereof, one of which is of some weight with us—the commodity, namely, of our private inclination.

"'We have not forgotten our coronation oath.

"'We shall marry as God shall direct our choice, to His honour and to our country's good.'"

"She would hear no reply. The speaker was led out, the queen at the same moment turning to Gardiner, the lord chancellor, said, 'I have to thank you, my lord, for this business.'

"The chancellor replied, in tears, that he was innocent; the Commons had drawn their petition themselves; for himself, it was true he was well inclined towards Courtenay; he had known him in the Tower.

"'And is your having known him in the Tower,' she cried, 'a reason that you should think him a fitting husband for me. I will never, never marry him—that I promise you—and I am a woman of my word; what I say, I do.'

"'Choose where you will,' Gardiner answered, 'your majesty's consort shall find in me the most obedient of his subjects.'"

Truly, says Froude, "Mary had now the bit between her teeth, and, resisting all efforts to check or guide her, was making her own way with obstinate resolution.

"Even Renard was alarmed at this burst of passion. He had fed Mary's suspicions till they were beyond either his control or her own.

"He was beginning to believe, and he ventured to hint to the queen, that Paget's advice might be worth consideration, but on this subject she would listen to nothing."

Elizabeth had hitherto, when at court, taken precedence of all other ladies. The queen now compelled her to walk behind Lady Lennox and the Duchess of Suffolk, as a sign of the meditated change, and the ladies of the court were afraid to be seen speaking to her.

The lords, knights, and gentlemen gathered ostentatiously round the princess when she rode abroad, or thronged the levees at her house.

The popular feeling began to show itself in alarming symptoms. Devonshire and Cornwall, the stronghold of the Courtenay family, were prepared for insurrection.

The council is said to have been in continual quarrel. Parliament, since the rebuff of the speaker, had not grown tractable, and on the 6th of December the session ended in a dissolution.

Elizabeth, asking for permission, was allowed to retire to her country house, and the queen, yielding to Renard's entreaties, received her, when she came to take leave, with affection, and the princess, on her side, implored her to give no more credit to slanders against her. They embraced, and Elizabeth left the court; and as she went out of London, five hundred gentlemen formed about her as a voluntary escort.

The marriage being once decided on, Mary could think of nothing else, and in the beginning of December the emperor, then at Brussels, sent over the draft of a marriage treaty, the proposals in which, on being submitted to the council, were admitted reasonable. Additional clauses, were, however, now added, until further objection could not be ventured unless constraint was laid upon the queen.

"These further demands," says Froude, "were sent to the emperor, who, agreeing to the sketch of the treaty, with the conditions attached to it, was submitted to such of the Lords and Commons as remained in London, and the result was a sullen acquiescence.

"Secret messengers were sent off to Rome, to hasten the dispensation for Mary to marry her cousin.

"An embassy was immediately announced as to be sent from Flanders. Count Egmont and the Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, with two other noblemen, were coming over as plenipotentiaries of the emperor."

That the marriage might be solemnized at once, Bonner, Bedford, Sir Philip Hoby, and Lord Derby were asked to go to Spain to receive the prince's oaths and escort him to England.

"But the lords," continues Froude, "did not hide from Mary that their consent was passive only; that their reluctance was as vehement as ever. Bedford said, if he went to Spain, he must go without attendance, for no one would accompany him.

"Lord Derby refused to be one of the ambassadors, and, with Sir Edward Waldegrave and Sir Edward Hastings [members of the council], told the queen that he would leave her service if she persisted.

"The seditious pamphlets which were scattered everywhere created a vague terror in the court, and the court ladies wept and lamented in the queen's presence.

"The council in a body again urged her to abandon her intention. Mary, however, brave in the midst of her perplexities, vowed that she would relinquish her hopes of Philip only with her life."

On the night of the 26th of December, Count Egmont and his three companions, the ambassadors from the emperor, landed at Dover.

Their retinue, a large one, was sent on at once to London, and the ambassadors followed next day and were received in silence.

The English ministers intended, it is said, to be offensive, "but they were disarmed by the courtesy of Egmont, who charmed every one."

In ten days the business connected with the treaty was concluded, and the document sent to the emperor to be ratified. The dispensations from Rome, and the necessary powers from Philip, were alone waited for that the marriage might be concluded in public or private.

"It was now," writes Burnet, "apparent the queen was to marry the Prince of Spain, which gave a universal discontent to the whole nation.

"All that loved the Reformation saw that not only their religion would be changed, but a Spanish government and inquisition would be set up in its stead.

"Those who considered the civil liberties of the kingdom, without regard to religion, concluded that England would become a province of Spain; and they saw how they governed the Netherlands, and heard how they ruled Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

"But, above all, they heard the most inhuman things that ever any age produced had been acted by them in their new conquest in the West Indies.

"All the great conditions now talked of were but the gilding of the pill, but its operation would be fatal if they swallowed it down.

"These things had influence on many."

On the 22nd of January, 1554, Sir Thomas Wyatt called a meeting of his friends, at Allingham Castle, on the Medway.

Three days after, an alarm was rung on the church bells in the towns and villages of Kent, and copies of a proclamation were scattered abroad signifying that the Spaniards were coming to conquer the realm, and calling on loyal Englishmen to rise and resist them.

Wyatt's friends had done their work well. In all directions the yeomen and the peasants rose in arms, and, uniting their forces at Rochester, Wyatt placed himself at their head and set himself to organise the force which continued to pour in upon him.

Messengers, one after another, hurried to London with worse and worse news; but now the need came for troops, there were none beyond the ordinary guard.

The council, decrying the use to which the queen might apply a body of regular troops, had resisted her endeavours to raise such a body; and now the council, divided on all other points, agreed to keep Mary powerless.

The queen, however, applied to the corporation of the city, and obtained five hundred men, over whom she placed the Duke of Norfolk, on whose integrity she could rely.

Two days later, Norfolk with his men arrived on the sloping ground facing towards Rochester, within cannon-shot of the bridge, but before he had time to fire a shot, his men had gone over to the enemy, shouting "A Wyatt! A Wyatt! We are all Englishmen"; and the duke, with half-a-dozen followers, galloped back to London to avoid falling into the insurgent's hands.

Mary's situation was now alarming. She was without money and without troops, and some of her own guard had been among the deserters at Rochester.

She appealed to the honour of the Lords to take measures for her personal safety, but they did nothing. If London rose, they said, she must retire to Windsor.

The queen's resolution, however, grew with her difficulties. If she could not fight, she would not yield.

"Wyatt's party increasing," says Burnet, "they turned towards London, and as they came to Deptford, Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis came to them, in the queen's name, to ask what would content them.

"Wyatt desired that he might have the command of the Tower; that the queen might stay under his guard; and the council might be changed.

"Upon these extravagant propositions there passed high words, and the privy counsellors returned to the queen."

The next morning, February 1st, Count Egmont waited on Mary to say that he and his companions were at her service, and would stand by her to their death.

He found her "marvellously firm," and while she was grateful for the offer, she not only thought it best to decline his kindness, but she recommended them to leave London and the country without delay. The marriage, she felt, must, at all events, be postponed for the present.

She bade the count to tell the emperor that from the first she had put her trust in God, and that she trusted in Him still.

The count and his party obeyed. They stole on board six Antwerp merchants' sloops, and sailed with the next tide.

The next day the queen herself rode through the streets of the city to the Guildhall, attended by Gardiner and the remnant of the guard.

The hall was crowded with citizens, and when the queen entered she stood forward on the steps above the throng. Addressing them, she gave an account of her message to Wyatt and his answer.

And for her marriage, she said she did nothing in it but by advice of her council, and spoke very tenderly of the love she bore to her people and to the city.

She would call a Parliament, and leave the subject of her proposed marriage to their consideration and decision.

The speech had remarkable success. The spectacle of the queen's distress won the sympathy of the citizens; the promise of a Parliament satisfied all reasonable demands.

Converted to the prudence of supporting the queen, the corporation enrolled the next day over twenty thousand men for the protection of the crown and the capital.

The Lord Mayor took command of the troops, and with him were associated Lord William Howard.

Wyatt, on his way to London, with four thousand men, had reached Greenwich on the 31st of January, and on the day of the memorable scene at the Guildhall was wasting his time meditating whether he should not cross the river in boats to Blackwall.

And when, on the 3rd of February, he arrived at London Bridge, still on the wrong side of the river, he found the gates closed against him, the drawbridge thrown down and flung into the water, while on the city side there stood fifteen thousand men "who had sprung from the ground by the magic of a queen's speech."

Here Wyatt, for the first time, perceived that his cause was lost, and lost, too, by his own inactivity. Truly, he had verified the truth of the old saying that "delays are dangerous."

With Wyatt had risen the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, and Sir Peter Carew.

Suffolk had gone to raise the Midland counties, but at Leicester only a few scores of his tenants and retainers from his own estates answered his call.

At Coventry he found the gates closed against him, although he had friends within the walls who had undertaken to place the town at his disposal.

"The state of Coventry," says Froude, "was probably the state of most other towns in England. The inhabitants were divided. The mayor and aldermen, the fathers of families, and the men of property, were Conservatives, loyal to the queen, to the mass, and to the cause of order.

"The young and enthusiastic, supported by others who had good reasons for being in opposition to established authorities, were those who had placed themselves in correspondence with the Duke of Suffolk."

Whilst under the walls with a hundred horse, hesitating what course to pursue, a messenger came to say that the Earl of Huntingdon, who had followed the duke from London at the queen's command, was at Warwick.

Warwick was the next town the duke had intended to move on, the garrison there, he had been told, being ready to rise.

Suffolk had an estate a few miles distant, called Astley Park, and to it the party retreated. There the duke shared such money as he had with him among his men, and bade them shift for themselves, while he himself took refuge with his brother, Lord John, in the cottage of his gamekeeper.

A proclamation was issued by Huntingdon for the duke's apprehension, who, thinking the cottage was insecure, concealed himself in the hollow of an old decaying tree, and there for two winter days and a night he was left without food.

Now unable to endure the cold and hunger longer, he crawled out of the tree, and while warming himself by the cottage fire a party of troopers entered with the keeper, who had been to Warwick to betray his master's hiding place.

Lord John, his brother, was discovered buried under some bundles of hay, and the two were carried off at once to the Tower.

The account of his confederates' failure became known to Wyatt during his short stay at London Bridge, and at the same time he found himself proclaimed traitor, and a reward of a hundred pounds offered for his capture, dead or alive.

Wyatt replied to the proclamation by wearing his name in large letters upon his cap, and, with a sudden and desperate resolution, resolved to march up the river to the next bridge at Kingston, and return from thence to the city.

Here he had been anticipated. He found the bridge broken in two, and a small body of royal troops stationed on the other side.

Filling up the gap seen in the middle of the broken bridge, Wyatt, with a number of barges, which he covered with planks and beams, made a road of sufficient strength to bear the cannon and the wagons.

At midnight the river was crossed and the march resumed, but his force had now dwindled down to less than fifteen hundred men.

Most of his men had gone home, and those who remained were the London deserters, and they had compromised themselves too deeply to hope for pardon.

Kingston Bridge having been broken, no additional precautions had been taken by the council to protect the city against Wyatt's invading force.

About three o'clock in the morning the queen was called from her bed. Gardiner, who was in waiting, told her the insurgents were coming directly back upon London.

Without disturbing herself, the queen sent for Renard.

Gardiner advised her to take shelter instantly at Windsor, while Renard counselled her to remain till the last extremity. 'Your flight,' he said, will be known; the city will rise, seize the Tower, and Elizabeth will be proclaimed.

Finding the lords also divided in opinion, Mary decided to be guided by Pembroke and Clinton. If those two would undertake to stand by her, she would remain and see out the struggle.

They were sent for, not being present. Pembroke, coming at once, decided on supporting the queen, and promised to defend her with his life, and at four o'clock drums went round the city calling on the train-bands to an instant muster at Charing Cross.

CHAPTER L.

PEMBROKE'S conduct determined the young lords and gentlemen about the court, who, with their servants, were swiftly mounted under arms; and by eight o'clock more than ten thousand men were ready to encounter Wyatt.

"At nine o'clock," says Froude, "Wyatt brought the draggled remnant of his force, wet, hungry, and faint with their night march, up the hill from Knightsbridge.

"Near Hyde Park Corner a lane turned off, and here Pembroke had placed a troop of cavalry; and when half of them had passed, the horse dashed out and cut them in two, and all who were behind were dispersed or captured.

"Wyatt, caring now only to press forward, kept his immediate followers together and went straight on.

"The queen's guns opened fire and killed three of his men; but, lowering his head, he dashed at them and over them; then, turning to the right, to avoid the train-bands, he struck towards St. James's and went right along the present Pall Mall, past the line of the citizen.

"They had but to move a few steps to intercept his passage, close in, and take him; but not a man advanced, not a hand was lifted; where the way was narrow, they drew aside to let him pass.

"At Charing Cross Sir John Gage was stationed with part of the guard, some horse, and among them Courtenay, who in the morning had been heard to say he would not obey orders; he was as good a man as Pembroke.

"As Wyatt came up, Courtenay turned his horse towards Whitehall, and began to move off, followed by Lord Worcester. 'Fie! my lord,' Sir Thomas Cornwallis cried to him, 'is this the action of a gentleman?'

"But deaf, or heedless, or treacherous, he galloped off, calling 'Lost, lost! all is lost!' and carried panic to the court.

"The guard had broken at his flight, and came hurrying behind him; some cried that Pembroke had played false; shouts of treason rang through the palace.

"The queen, who had been watching from the palace gallery alone retained her presence of mind. If others durst not stand the trial against the traitors, she said, she herself would go out into the field and try the quarrel, and die with those that would serve her.

"At this moment Knyvet and the Cobhams, who, becoming separated from Wyatt at St. James's, had gone round by the old palace, came by the gates as the fugitive guard were struggling on.

"Gage was rolled in the dirt, and three of the judges with him. The guard shrunk away into the offices and kitchens to hide themselves, but Knyvet's men made no attempt to enter; they contented themselves with shooting a few arrows, and then hurried on to Charing Cross to rejoin.

"At Charing Cross, however, their way was now closed by a company of archers, who had been sent back by Pembroke to protect the court. Sharp fighting followed, and the cries rose so loud as to be heard on the leads of the White Tower. At last the leaders forced their way up the Strand; the rest of the party were cut up, dispersed, or taken.

"Wyatt himself, meanwhile, followed by three hundred men, went on through lines of troops, who still opened to give him passage. He passed Temple Bar, along Fleet Street, and reached Ludgate.

"The gate was open as he approached, when someone, seeing a number of men coming up, exclaimed, 'These be Wyatt's antients.' Muttered curses were heard among the bystanders. But Lord Howard was on the spot. The gates, notwithstanding the murmurs, were instantly closed, and when Wyatt knocked, Howard's voice answered, 'Avaunt, traitor! thou shalt not come in here. 'I have kept touch,' Wyatt exclaimed; but his enterprise was hopeless now. He sat down upon a bench outside the Belle Sauvage yard.

"His followers scattered from him among the by-lanes and streets, and of the three hundred, twenty-four alone remained, among whom were now Knyvet and one of the young Cobhams.

"With these few he turned at last, in the forlorn hope that the train-bands would again open to let him pass. Some of Pembroke's horse were coming up. He fought his way through them to Temple Bar, where a herald cried, 'Sir, ye were best to yield, perchance ye may find the queen merciful.'

"Sir Maurice Berkeley was standing near him on horseback, to whom, feeling that further resistance was useless, he surrendered his sword; and Berkeley, to save him from being cut down in the

tumult, took him up upon his horse. Others in the same way took up Knyvet and Cobham, Brett, and two more.

"The six prisoners were carried through the Strand back to Westminster, the passage through the city being thought dangerous, and from Whitehall Stairs, Mary herself looking on from a window of the palace, they were borne off in a barge to the Tower.

"They had triumphed, triumphed through her own resolution, and would now enjoy the fruits of victory; the queen's turn was come, and as the danger had been great, so was the resentment.

"She had Renard at one ear protesting that while these turbulent spirits were uncrushed the precious person of the prince could not be trusted to her.

"She had Gardiner, who, always pitiless towards heretics, was savage at the frustration of his own schemes.

"Renard in the closet, Gardiner in the pulpit, alike told her that she must shew no mercy."

"This was a rebellion," says Bishop Burnet, "both raised and dispersed in as strange a manner as could have been imagined. Wyatt was a popular and stout man, but had not a head for such an undertaking; otherwise the government was so feeble, that it had not been a difficult thing to have driven the queen to great straits.

"The day after Wyatt's surrender a proclamation forbade all persons to shelter the fugitive insurgents under pain of death, and they were brought out of the houses where they had hidden themselves, and were given up by hundreds.

"The Tower wards were so full that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were packed into one cell; all the common prisons, and even churches, converted into prisons, were full to overflowing."

And now followed "a reign of terror," says the National History of England, "more violent and more hideous than that of the last year of Henry the Eighth.

"Combining all the fanaticism of her mother with the sensual passion of her father, Mary had been driven into madness by the movement, which aimed to deprive her both of her religion and her husband, and her rage vented itself in the fury of murder.

"Among the most important personages implicated in the Midland insurrection was the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, which furnished an opportunity to annihilate not only him, but his whole family.

"Jane Grey, poor sovereign of ten days, had been hitherto treated with great forbearance, and although sentence of treason

had been passed against her she was allowed the liberty of the Tower, and had thus virtually been pardoned.

"But no sooner was the insurrection suppressed than Mary determined to bring her to the block, so as to begin her new reign of despotism with the execution of a queen."

On the Sunday after Wyatt's capture, the 11th of February, Gardiner preached a sermon before Mary, in which she was entreated, in the name of religion, to "cut off and consume the rotten and hurtful members of the commonwealth."

As soon as the sermon was over, the queen sent John de Feckenham, one of her chaplains, to the Tower, to inform Lady Jane Grey that she was to be executed the following morning. She heard the message with great fortitude, telling him that she was ready to die, and refusing his proffered services to spend her few remaining hours in prayer with him. Feckenham, however, insisted on remaining near her, and the night passed on in theological discussion.

Early the next morning Jane received a message from Lord Guildford Dudley, her husband, stating that he was to be led to the scaffold before her, and asking for an interview; but she declined it, since it would, she said, be rather an increase of grief than any addition of comfort to them. She hoped, however, that they would shortly meet and be united in a happier state; and with a settled countenance she saw them bring back the beheaded body to the chapel where it was to be buried.

When she was brought to the scaffold, she confessed that she had sinned in taking the queen's honour when the crown was given her, but she said it was neither procured nor desired by her.

She declared that she died a true Christian, and hoped to be saved only by the mercy of God in the blood of Christ.

Then, kneeling down, she repeated the fifty-first psalm, after which she undressed herself, and, placing her head on the block, she said, "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," and her head, at the first fall of the axe, was severed from her body.

The same day Courtenay was sent to the Tower, and a general slaughter commenced of the common prisoners.

"Gibbets," says Froude, "were erected all over London, and by Thursday evening [February 15th] eighty or a hundred bodies were dangling in St. Paul's Churchyard, on London Bridge, in Fleet Street, and at Charing Cross; in Southwark and Westminster.

"Day after day, week after week, commissioners sat at Westminster, or at the Guildhall, trying prisoners, who passed with a short shrift to the gallows.

"The Duke of Suffolk was sentenced on the 17th; on the 23rd he followed his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, penitent for his rebellion, but constant in his faith.

"His two brothers and Lord Cobham's sons were condemned. Lord Cobham himself, Wyatt, and, as the council expressed it, 'a world more,' were in various prisons waiting their trials.

"Sooner or later, the queen was determined that every one who could be convicted should die, and beyond and above all, Elizabeth."

Renard had written to the emperor so far back as the 8th of February, "The queen's blood is up at last. The Duke of Suffolk and Lord Thomas Grey had written for mercy, but they will find none; their heads will fall, and so will Courtenay's and Elizabeth's.

"I have told the queen that she must be especially prompt with these two.

"We have nothing now to hope for except that France will break the peace, and then all will be well."

This allusion to France has reference to a letter in cipher which the French ambassador had addressed to Wyatt, then at Rochester. The letter had been intercepted, and the contents of it disclosed the object of the conspiracy, namely, to dethrone Mary and make Elizabeth queen.

Mary, ever suspicious of her sister, on learning of this letter, at once concluded that Elizabeth had favoured the conspiracy, and now resolved to place her in strict confinement.

Ill in health, Elizabeth was brought by slow stages of six or seven miles a day to London. Crowds followed her along the streets to Westminster.

The queen, when she arrived at Whitehall Palace, refused to see her. A suite of rooms was assigned for her confinement, from which there was no egress except by passing the guard.

Renard urged instant and summary justice on her and on Courtenay. It was enough, he said, that the conspiracy was undertaken in Elizabeth's interest; if she escaped now, the queen would never be secure.

The Lords, however, insisted firmly on the forms of law, and the necessity of witnesses, and of a trial; and, at the end of a fortnight, Elizabeth was allowed to return to Ashbridge.

The conspiracy being now crushed, a new matrimonial embassy arrived on the 2nd of March, headed as before by Count Egmont, but more numerously attended, and much more liberally supplied with gold.

To complete his work, the count had also brought with him the pope's dispensation in proper form, and a fresh and pressing entreaty that Elizabeth should be sacrificed. The emperor relied upon the queen's honour not to neglect any step essential to his son's security.

"Egmont," says Froude, "gave his message; but the unhappy queen required no urging. She protested to Renard that she could neither rest nor sleep, so ardent was her desire for the prince's safe arrival.

"Courtenay, if necessary, she could kill; against him the proofs were complete. As to Elizabeth, she knew her guilt; the evidence was growing; and she would insist to the council that justice should be done.

"About the marriage itself, the Lords had by this time agreed to yield, and Southampton was chosen as the port at which Philip should embark.

"Parliament was expected to give its sanction without further difficulty, the opposition of the country having been neutralized by the same causes which influenced the council."

Speaking of the embassy, the National History of England says: "The matrimonial envoy was presented by Simon Renard to the queen on the 3rd of March, and, according to the report of the latter to the kaiser [emperor], did not hesitate to inform her that it was part of his mission to resort to wholesale bribery for winning over her councillors to his cause.

"'We held with her majesty,'" Renard wrote to his master, "'a discussion of the entertainment to be given to such as she deemed most worthy, observing that your majesty, to gain them to his highness [Prince Philip], had charged us to use some liberality towards such as she thought best.

"'I took, moreover, the judgment as to those who should be pensioned, and of such as she and the council might select for the household and service of his highness.

"'Mary answered that your majesty did far more for her, or her kingdom, and her subjects, than they deserved; nevertheless, your majesty's proposals, she said, were well judged.'

"It was a great source of satisfaction to the kaiser's ambassadors to find that nearly all the honourable privy councillors showed extreme eagerness to get their bribes.

"'On Monday,'" Simon Renard continued his report, "'we visited in turn the chancellor [Gardiner], Arundel the comptroller, Pembroke the privy seal, Paget, and the admiral [Lord William Howard].

"'To each separately we showed your majesty's letters, and informed them of your intentions, according to our instructions. All accepted the proffered cash with many thanks, promising, moreover, to hand in further lists of friends who would not object to receive the high and mighty kaiser's liberalities.

"'Paget,'" the same report continued, "'having consulted with his mistress, sent us the enclosed note, with the names of such as should have pensions and claims.

"'Without, however, at once embracing his opinion, we, to give satisfaction to the other councillors, communicated with the chancellor and comptroller, who also furnished us with a list of names, adding to them the proper sums.'"

Returning to Froude, he tells us: "The queen, indeed, in going through the ceremony before consulting Parliament, though she had broken the promise which she had made in the Guildhall, had placed it beyond their power to raise difficulties.

"Gardiner, however, saw in the failure of the insurrection an opportunity of emancipating the church, and of extinguishing heresy with fire and sword.

"He was preparing a bill to restore the ancient vigorous tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts, and by his own authority he directed that in the writs for the Parliament the summons should be to meet at Oxford, where the conservatism of the country would be released from the dread of the London citizen.

"The Bishop of Winchester [Gardiner] had arranged in his imagination a splendid melodrama. The session was to begin on the 2nd of April, and the ecclesiastical bill was to be the first to be passed.

"On the 8th of March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent down to the university to be tried before a committee of Convocation, which had already decided on its verdict; and the fathers of the Reformation were either to recant or to suffer the flaming penalties of heresy, in the presence of the legislature, as the first fruits of a renovated church discipline.

"Renard, however, was opposed to this policy, for while he would be cruel to the political prisoners, he urged Mary to be prudent in religion.

"Mary listened to the worst counsels of each, and her distempered humour settled into a confused ferocity.

"The Protestants, it must be admitted, had excited themselves to make Gardiner's work easy to him."

Among the instances Froude quotes of this, we select, though briefly, the one of Sir Peter Carey.

Carey had run down the Channel in his own vessel to Exmouth, at the same time that Wyatt was encouraging the rising in Kent, expecting Courtenay to join him at Exeter, but he not only remained in London, he communicated to Gardiner all he knew of the secret plot.

A summons was despatched to Devonshire to require Carey and his brother to return to London, but he had waded too deep in treason to trust himself in Gardiner's hands.

He disposed in haste of his farm stock to raise a supply of money, crossed the country to Weymouth, embarked in a vessel which had been brought round to meet him, and sailed for France.

At Paris he was received with a cordiality that answered his warmest hopes.

The French, as we have already seen, were still at war with Spain, and now they determined, if possible, to prevent Philip from reaching England.

They equipped every vessel they possessed available for sea, and Carew was sent to the coast of the Channel to tempt across into the French service all those who, like himself, were compromised in the conspiracy.

Young men of honourable families "slipped over the water," carrying with them hardy sailors from the western ports.

The queen indignantly demanded explanations of Noailles, the French ambassador in London, and through her own ambassador at Paris she required the French Government to seize 'her traitors' and deliver them to her.

Henry, the king, replied to her ambassador that he was not the queen's hangman. "These that you require deny that they have conspired anything against the queen. They say they will not be oppressed by mine enemy, and that is no just cause why I should owe them ill-will."

Carew and his friends were a constant menace to the Channel, and, believing that Elizabeth's life was on the point of sacrifice, they were prepared to support Henry in an attempt to seize the Isle of Wight, and to accept the French competitor for the English crown in the person of Mary Queen of Scots.

"Thus fatally," adds Froude, "the friends of the Reformation played into the hands of its enemies.

"By the solid mass of Englishmen the armed interference of France was more dreaded than even a Spanish sovereign, and the heresy became doubly odious which was tampering with the hereditary enemies of the realm."

Turning to Wyatt, his trial took place on the 15th of March. He pleaded guilty to the indictment of treason, and was sentenced to death. Courtenay, he said, had been the instigator of the conspiracy.

He had written to Elizabeth, he also said, to remove as far as possible from London, and she had returned him a verbal answer.

On Friday, the 16th, Elizabeth was brought from Ashbridge to Whitehall, and, after rapid examination before the council, Gardiner proposed that she should be sent at once to the Tower, at which several of the council, though won over to the Spanish interest, shrank in fear.

Paget, supported by Sussex and two other members of the council, said there was no evidence to justify so violent a measure. "Which of you, then," said Gardiner, "will be responsible for the safe keeping of her person?"

None being found courageous enough to undertake the charge, Winchester and Sussex were deputed to wait upon Elizabeth to communicate her destination, and this they did the next day.

The princess entreated a short delay till she could write a few words to her sister. The queen could not know the truth, she said, or else she was played upon by Gardiner.

Winchester hesitated, but Sussex, more generous, promised, on his knees, to place her letter in the queen's hands.

"The letter Elizabeth wrote in that bitter moment may," says Froude, "still be read in the State Paper Office.

"In it she humbly beseeches her sister to remember her last promise, 'that I be not condemned without answer and due proof, which it seems that I now am; for that, without cause proved, I am by your council from you condemned to go unto the Tower, a place more wanted for a false traitor than a true subject.'

"She protests before God that she never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to the queen or the state, and begs her majesty to let her answer before herself, and before she goes to the Tower.

"The queen answered the appeal by storming at the bearer, and at his friends in the council. 'They were going no good way,' she said; 'for their lives they durst not have acted so in her father's time.'"

CHAPTER LI.

THE next morning, then Palm Sunday, the two lords returned to Elizabeth to tell her that her letter had failed. As she crossed the garden with them to the barge, she looked up to the queen's window, but there was no recognition.

Sir John Gage, with the Tower guard, was waiting her arrival at the Traitor's Gate. Addressing him, she said, "I never thought to have come in here a prisoner," and then, turning to the soldiers, she said, "I pray you all, good fellows and friends, bear me witness that I come in no traitor, but as true a woman to the queen's majesty as any is now living, and thereon will I take my death."

As she passed on to the room intended for her, the heavy doors along the corridor were locked and barred behind her, at which Sussex reminded Gage that she was a king's daughter and the queen's sister. "Go no further," he said, "than your commission, which I know what it is."

The chief danger was of some swift, desperate act which could not be undone.

The Lords, who had so reluctantly permitted Elizabeth to be imprisoned, would not allow her to be sacrificed, or permit the queen to continue in the career of vengeance on which she had entered.

The same day that Elizabeth was committed, the Lords held a meeting while Gardiner was engaged elsewhere, determined to remonstrate and, if necessary, to insist on a change of course.

Paget, the bearer of the message, found Mary in her oratory after vespers. "He told her," says Froude, "that the season might remind a sovereign of other duties besides revenge. Already too much blood had been shed; the noble house of Suffolk was all but destroyed; and he said distinctly that if she attempted any more executions he and his friends would interfere, and, as an earnest of a return to mercy, he demanded the pardon of six gentlemen then on their way to Maidstone and Rochester to suffer.

"Mary, as she lamented afterwards to Renard, was unprepared; she was pressed in terms which showed that those who made the request did not intend to be refused, and she consented.

"The six gentlemen escaped; and, following up this beginning, the council, in the course of a week, extorted from her the release of Northampton, Cobham, and one of his sons, with five others."

On the 2nd of April Parliament assembled. The Oxford scheme had been relinquished as impracticable. The queen said that she would not leave London while her sister's fate was undetermined, and the House met, as usual, at Westminster.

The marriage bill passed both Houses by the 12th of April.

Lord Bedford and Lord Fitzwalter immediately sailed for Spain, protected by the fleet under Lord William Howard.

The day previous, the 11th, Wyatt was brought out of his cell for execution. When placed on the scaffold, he desired the people to pray for him. He lamented his crime, and hoped he might be the last person to suffer for the rebellion. He concluded thus:—

"Whereas it is said abroad that I should accuse my Lady Elizabeth's grace, and my Lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I assure you neither they nor any other now yonder in hold or durance was privy of my rising or commotion before I began."

London now rang with the story that Wyatt, in dying, had cleared Courtenay and Elizabeth.

The judges declared that against Elizabeth there was now no evidence, and a confinement at Woodstock was the furthest stretch of severity that the country would, for the present, permit. On the 19th of May she was taken up the river.

Mary, distracted with so many irritations, left London early in June for Richmond Palace.

At last Philip, escorted with a hundred and fifty ships, large and small, sailed from Corunna at the beginning of July, at which time Lord Howard lay at the Needles with the English fleet; and on the 20th the flotilla was safely anchored in Southampton Water.

The queen was on her way to Winchester, where she arrived next morning, attended by most of the peerages.

A crowd of gentlemen was waiting to receive the prince at the landing stage, and, as he stepped out, the whole assemblage knelt.

Mounting a horse, Philip went direct to Southampton Church, accompanied by the English and Spanish noblemen, to offer thanks for his safe arrival; and from the church he was conducted to a mansion which had been furnished for his reception.

On Sunday he went to church again to Mass, and afterwards Gardiner came to him from the queen, and both English and Spaniards exerted themselves to be pleasing.

Monday came at last, and after an early dinner the trumpet sounded to horse; lords, knights, and gentlemen had thronged into the town from all the counties round, and as many as four thousand cavaliers under no command were collected to join the procession.

A grey gelding was led up for Philip; he wrapped himself in a scarlet cloak, and, in a heavy rain and a howling wind, started to meet his bride, and, with drenched garments, the object of so many anxieties, arrived within the walls of Winchester before sunset.

To the cathedral he went first, wet as he was; "he entered, kissed the crucifix, and knelt and prayed before the altar," then taking his seat in the choir, he remained while the choristers sang a Te Deum Laudamus, "till the long aisles grew dim in the twilight," and he was conducted by torchlight to the deanery.

The queen was at the bishop's palace, a few hundred yards distant, and the same night he was conducted into the presence of his bride; and on the 25th of July, Gardiner married them in the cathedral, Philip being then in his 27th, and the queen in the 38th year of her age.

Froude, commenting on the meeting and the marriage, says:—

"Let the curtain fall over the meeting, let it close over the wedding solemnities which followed with due splendour two days later; there are scenes in life which we regard with pity too deep for words.

"For a few months she created for herself an atmosphere of unreality; but the dream passed—her love for her husband remained, but remained only to be a torture to her.

"With a broken spirit and bewildered understanding she turned to heaven for comfort, and instead of heaven, she saw only the false roof of her creed painted to imitate and shut out the sky.

"She had restored Catholic orthodoxy, and her passion for Philip, had been gratified; to complete her work and her happiness, it remained to bring back her subjects to the bosom of the Catholic church."

From Winchester the queen and Philip went first to Windsor, and thence, the second week in August, to Richmond.

On the 18th of August they made their entry into London. There were the usual pageants in the city, and "it passed off

tolerably well." After which, the peers who had collected for the marriage dispersed to their country seats.

Elizabeth remained undisposed of at Woodstock.

At the end of September, Bonner commenced an inquisition into the conduct and opinions of the clergy of his diocese.

In every parish he appointed persons to examine whether the minister was, or ever had been married, whether his sermons were orthodox, whether he duly exhorted his parishioners to come to mass and confession, whether he associated with heretics, etc.

The points of inquiry were published in a series of articles which created great ferment; and, called to account for having ventured so rash a step without the permission of crown or council, Bonner suspended his order.

Early in October writs were issued for a new Parliament, and the reports which came in during the elections were considered favourable to the queen.

In the upper House the court was certain of a majority, being supported by the bishops, and the question of Pole's coming over was once more seriously considered. Still at the monastery at Dhilinghen, and anxiously waiting to be recalled to England, he now made an appeal to Philip.

"For a whole year," he wrote, "I have been knocking at the door of that kingdom, and no person will answer, no person will ask, 'Who is there?'

"It is one who has endured twenty years of exile that the partner of your throne should not be excluded from her rights, and I come in the name of the vicar of the King of kings, the shepherd of mankind," etc.

Renard being consulted, he advised Philip to write privately to the pope, telling him that he had already so many embarrassments on his hands that he could not afford to increase them.

"The legate," says Froude, "was almost hopeless; yet his time of triumph, such triumph as it was, had nearly arrived.

"The queen's supposed pregnancy had increased her influence, and, constant herself in the midst of general indecision, she was able to carry her point.

"She would not mortify the legate who had suffered for his constancy to the cause of her mother, with listening to Renard's personal objections; and when the character of the approaching House of Commons had been ascertained, she gained the consent of

the council, a week before the beginning of the session, to send commissioners to Brussels to see Pole and inspect his faculties.

"With a conclusive understanding on the central question, they might tell him that the hope of his life might be realized, and that he might return to his country; but the conditions were explicit—he must bring adequate powers with him, or his coming would be worse than fruitless.

"If those which he already possessed were insufficient, he must send them to Rome to be enlarged; and although the court would receive him as legate de latere, he had better enter the country only as a cardinal and ambassador, till he could judge of the state of things for himself.

"On these terms the commissioners might conduct him to the queen's presence.

"The bearers of this communication were Lord Paget and Lord Hastings, accompanied, it is curious to observe, by Sir William Cecil."

They presented themselves to the emperor, who, after the report which they brought with them, made no more difficulty. The enlarged powers had been sent for three weeks before, but there was no occasion to wait for their arrival; they might be expected in ten days or a fortnight, and could follow the legate to England.

"The effect on Pole of the commissioners' arrival 'there needed not,' as they said themselves, 'many words to declare.'

"On the pope's behalf, he promised everything; for himself, he would come as ambassador, he would come as a private person, come in any fashion that might do good, so only that he might come."

Parliament met on the 12th of November; the opening speech was read by Gardiner, and was well received, although it announced that further measures would be submitted for the establishment of religion.

The repeal of Pole's attainder was the first measure brought forward, and it passed without opposition.

The happy legate now set out from Brussels like "a lover flying to his mistress."

The journey commenced the 13th of November; the retinues of Paget and Hastings, with the cardinal's household, making in all a hundred and twenty horse.

The evening of the 21st had closed in when the cavalcade entered Canterbury. At the door of the archbishop's palace, where he was to pass the night, the archdeacon, with a number of the clergy, saluted him with the words, "Thou art Pole, and thou art our Polar star to light us to the kingdom of the heavens."

From here the cardinal went on leisurely to Rochester, where he was entertained by Lord Cobham at Cowling Castle. So far he had travelled as an ordinary ecclesiastic, without distinctive splendour; on the night of the 23rd, however, a message came from the court that the legatine insignia might be displayed.

At Gravesend, where he arrived early next day, he found Lord Shrewsbury, who had come to meet him with the repeal of his attainder, to which the queen had given her assent in Parliament the day before.

Sailing up the river in a fleet of barges ready for them, and with the tide in their favour, the cardinal and his party reached London Bridge at one o'clock on the top of the tide.

In a few minutes more they were at the palace stairs, Whitehall, where a pier was built on arches out into the river, and on the pier stood Gardiner with the lords of the council.

Froude tells us "the king* and queen were at dinner, Philip rose instantly from the table, hurried out, and caught the legate in his arms.

"The queen followed to the head of the grand staircase, and when Pole reached her, she threw herself on his breast, and kissed him, crying that his coming gave her as much joy as the possession of her kingdom.

"The cardinal, in corresponding ecstasy, exclaimed in the words of the angel to the Virgin, 'Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus.'

"The first rapturous moments over, the king, queen, and legate proceeded along the gallery, Philip and Pole supporting Mary on either side, and the legate expatiating on the mysteries of Providence.

"'High thanks, indeed,' he exclaimed, 'your majesty owes to the favour of the Almighty, seeing that while He permits you to bring your godly desires to perfection, He has united at this moment in your favour the two mightiest powers upon earth, the majesty of the emperor, represented in the king your husband, and the pope's holiness, represented in myself.'

* Though styled king by Froude, Philip was never crowned.

"The queen, as she walked, replied 'in words of sweet humility,' pouring out gentle excuses for past delays"; and after standing together in the saloon another quarter of an hour the cardinal took his leave for the day.

Gardiner in waiting, conducted him to Lambeth Palace, which had been assigned him for a residence, the see of Canterbury to follow as soon as Cranmer could be disposed of.

Here the cardinal was left to repose after his fatigues and excitements. He had scarcely however, retired to his apartments when he was disturbed by a message from the queen. "Lord Montague had," says Froude, "hurried over with the news that the angelic salutation had been already answered; 'the babe had leapt in her womb.'

"Not a moment was lost in communicating the miracle to the world; letters of council were drawn out for Te Deums to be sung in every church in London. The next day being Sunday, every pulpit was made to ring with the testimony of Heaven to the truth."

On Monday, the 26th, the cardinal went to the palace for an audience, "the briefs and commissions in which the pope relinquished formally his last reservations had arrived; 'never since the days of the apostles,' said the cardinal, 'had so many tokens of divine approbation been showered upon a human enterprise.'"

The moment of its consummation had arrived; the Houses of Parliament were invited to be present unofficially at Whitehall on the afternoon of the 28th.

In the morning there was a procession in the city and a Te Deum at St. Paul's.

After dinner, the great chamber was thrown open, and the Lords and Commons crowded in as they could find room.

Mary and Philip entered, and took their seats under the cloth of state; while the cardinal had a chair assigned him on their right hand, beyond the edge of the canopy.

When all were in their places, Gardiner, the chancellor, rose and in a few appropriate words introduced the cardinal to "my lords of the upper House and you my masters of the nether House."

He referred to him as the "right reverend father in God the lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome as the ambassador to the king's and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God and your universal benefit."

"The cardinal," says Froude, "was now fifty-four years old, and he had passed but little of his life in England, yet his features had not wholly lost their English character.

"He had the arched eyebrow, and the delicately-cut cheek, and prominent eye of the beautiful Plantagenet face; a long, brown, curling beard flowed down upon his chest, which it almost covered; the mouth was weak and slightly open, the lips were full and pouting, the expression difficult to read."

Leaving his chair and coming forward, the cardinal addressed the Lords and the Commons at great length.

He gave most humble and hearty thanks to the king's and queen's majesties, and, after them, the Lords and Commons, for restoring him to be a member of the Commonwealth after being exiled and banished from his native country "without just cause, as God knoweth; yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire I had to your profit and to do you good.

"The see apostolic, from whence I came, hath a special respect to this realm above all others, the first of all islands to receive the light of Christ's religion."

Referring to the misfortunes of the preceding years, he said: "But, when all light of true religion seemed extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted, even like as in a lamp, the light being covered yet it is not quenched, even so in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith, namely, in the breast of the queen's excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified—'Ecce quasi derelicta.'

"And see how miraculously God of His goodness preserved her highness contrary to the expectation of men; that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her, yet she being a virgin, helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and thwarted the victory of tyrants.

"For all their practices and devices, here you see her grace established in her estate, your lawful queen and governor, born among you, whom God hath appointed to govern you for the restitution of true religion and the extirpation of all errors and sects."

Let us now proceed to the closing words of the cardinal's long though interesting speech. "I come," he says, "not to destroy, but to build; I come to reconcile, not to condemn; I am not come

to compel, but to call again; I am not come to call anything in question already done. But my commission is of grace and clemency to such as will receive it; for touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness. But the means whereby you shall receive this benefit is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes which be impediments to the execution of my commissions."

The speech was listened to with profound attention, and when the cardinal sat down Gardiner gave him the thanks of Parliament, and suggested that the two Houses should be left to themselves as to what they would do.

The queen and Philip, with the cardinal, now withdrew, Gardiner at the same time exclaiming, "A prophet has the Lord raised up among us from among our brethren, and he shall save us"; after which the meeting dispersed.

CHAPTER LII.

THE next day the speaker repeated to the Commons the substance of the cardinal's speech. The repeal of all the Acts which, directly or by implication, were aimed at the papacy Parliament found would occupy considerable time, but the impatient legate, as Froude calls him, was ready to accept a promise as a pledge of performance, and the general question was therefore put severally in both Houses whether the country should return to obedience to the apostolic see.

Among the Peers no difficulty was made, and in the Commons only two out of the 360 members present objected. Gardiner and Pole now arranged that "the Houses should," Froude tells us, "present a joint petition to the king and queen, acknowledging their past misconduct, engaging to undo the anti-papal legislation, and entreating their majesties, as undefiled with the offences which tainted the body of the nation, to intercede for the removal of the interdict."

To this a joint committee of Lords and Commons assented, and all preparations were completed by Saturday evening, the 29th.

Next day, St. Andrew's Day, and also the festival of the institution of the order of the Golden Fleece, high mass was sung in the morning in Westminster Abbey; Philip attended in his robes with six hundred Spanish cavaliers.

"The Knights of the Garter were present in gorgeous costume, and nave and transept were thronged with the blended chivalry of England and Castile."

Philip, after the service, returned to the palace to dinner, and the same afternoon Parliament reassembled in the great chamber.

The cardinal, who had passed the morning at Lambeth Palace, was conducted across the water in a state barge by Lord Arundel and six other peers. Philip received him at the gate and conducted him into the room adjoining the hall where Mary was waiting for them.

The royal procession was formed, Arundel and the other six lords with him passed in to their places; the queen and Philip, with Pole in his legate's robes, ascended the steps of the platform and took their seats.

"When the stir which had been caused by their entrance was over, Gardiner," says Froude, "mounted a tribune, and in the now fast waning light he bowed to the king and queen and declared the resolution at which the Houses had arrived.

"Then turning to the Lords and Commons, he asked if they continued in the same mind; four hundred voices answered 'We do.'

"'Will you then,' he said, 'that I proceed in your name to supplicate for our absolution, that we may be received again into the body of the holy Catholic church, under the pope, the supreme head thereof?' Again the voices assented.

"The chancellor drew a scroll from under his robe, ascended the platform, and presented it unfolded on his knee to the queen.

"The queen looked through it, gave it to Philip, who looked through it also, and returned it."

Gardiner then rose and read aloud the document to the whole assembly.

In it the Lords and Commons declared themselves "very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same against the see apostolic, and supplicated absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences as by the laws of the church we had fallen in, etc."

Having completed the reading of the long document, Gardiner again presented the petition to the queen and Philip, who went through the forms of intercession; after which, a secretary read aloud, first the cardinal's original commission, and next, "the all-important extended form of it."

The cardinal's turn now came. He spoke briefly, and after referring to schism, concluded as follows:

"And if their [the Lords and Commons] repentance was sincere, how would the angels, who rejoice at the conversion of a single sinner, triumph at the recovery of a great and noble people."

At these words the Lords and Commons, following the example of the queen and Philip, fell on their knees; while the cardinal, rising, pronounced, in dead silence, the solemn words of the absolution. The proceedings concluded, the queen, Philip, and Parliament, led by the cardinal, went into the chapel of the palace, where the choir, accompanied by the organ, sang Te Deum, and the cardinal closed the scene with a benediction from the altar.

The same evening the cardinal went back to Lambeth Palace, and on the Sunday following he rode through the city between the queen and Philip, with his legate's cross before him, blessing the people.

When the news reached the pope, he is said to have embraced the messenger, and on his knees said a paternoster.

For two Parliaments Gardiner had been prevented from recovering the power of persecution. The Act to revive the Lollard statutes, thrown out in the last, was now passed in the present Parliament, in December, and the lives of the Protestants were again in their enemies' hands.

"The Act," says Bishop Burnet, "began in the House of Commons, who, as was observed in the former Parliament, were much set on severities.

"It was brought in on the 12th of December, and sent up to the Lords on the 15th, who passed it on the 18th of that month.

"The Commons put in also another bill for voiding all leases made by married priests. It was much argued among them, but they finding it would shake a great part of the rights of church lands that were made by married priests and bishops, laid it aside.

"Thus did the servile and corrupted House of Commons run so fast, that the bishops themselves were forced to moderate their heats."

At the same time Gardiner secured for the bishops' courts their long-coveted privilege of arbitrary arrest and discretionary punishment, and the clergy obtained, as they desired, the restoration of their legislative powers.

"The property question alone," Froude tells us, "disintegrated the phalanx of orthodoxy, and left an opening for the principles of liberty to assert themselves.

"The faithful and the faithless among the laity were alike participators in church plunder, and were alike nervously sensitive when the current of the reaction rang in direction of a demand for restitution."

Differences now began to arise between the House of Commons and the court. Philip finding more difficulty than he expected in embroiling England with France, his father being still at war with that country, induced one of the peers to carry a note to the lower House to request an opinion whether it was not the duty of a son to assist his father.

The House instantly replied that the question had already been disposed of in the marriage treaty and further discussion was unnecessary.

The court made a further blunder. Mary desired the consent of the House of Commons to Philip's coronation, which had been long talked of; the Commons, however, returned a unanimous refusal.

But as the queen said she was enciente, provision had to be made for a regency, and eventually a bill was passed making Philip regent till his child should be of age, and so long as he continued in the realm; at the same time it bound him to observe all the articles of the marriage treaty.

Early in the following month, January 4th, 1555, the statutes of repeal, which a joint committee of the two Houses had been authorised to prepare, emerged finished in the form of a petition to the crown, though not without some opposition, and by it was swept away the entire ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII.

"The persecuting Act had," says Froude, "been carried with difficulty, and in the reconciliation with Rome the cardinal had been mortified. On the succession and coronation the court had been wholly baffled; and in the Regency Bill they had obtained but half of what they desired.

"At the least, Mary had hoped to secure for the king the free disposal of the army and the finances, and she had not been able so much as to ask for it. Compelled to rest contented with such advantages as had been secured, the court would not risk the results of further controversy by prolonging the session; and on the 16th of January the king and queen came to the House of Lords almost unattended, and with an evident expression of dissatisfaction dissolved the Parliament."

Parliament dispersed, the first thing taken into consideration by the court and Pole was how to proceed against heretics.

"English statesmen may be pardoned," continues Froude, "if they did not anticipate the passions to which the guardians of orthodoxy were about to abandon themselves. Parliament had maintained the independence of the English courts of law. It had maintained the premunire. It had forbidden the succession to be tampered with. If this was not everything, it was something which in the end would be the undoing of all the rest.

"The court and the bishops, however, were for the present absolute in their own province. The persecuting Acts were once

more upon the statute book; and when the realities of the debates in Parliament had disappeared, the cardinal and the queen could again give rein to their imagination.

"They had called up a phantom out of its grave, and they persuaded themselves that they were witnessing the resurrection of the spirit of truth, that heresy was about to vanish from off the English soil, like the exhalation of the morning, at the brightness of the papal return.

"The chancellor [Gardiner] and the clergy were springing at the leash like hounds with the game in view, fanaticism and revenge lashing them forward.

"For all past political offences there was now an amnesty, and such prisoners as remained unexecuted for Wyatt's conspiracy were released from the Tower on the 18th of January.

"On the 25th a hundred and sixty priests walked in procession through the London streets chanting litanies, with eight bishops walking after them, and Bonner carrying the host.

"On the 28th the cardinal issued his first general instructions.

"The bishops were directed to call together their clergy in every diocese in England, and to inform them of the benevolent love of the holy father [the pope], and of the arrival of the legate with powers to absolve them from their guilt.

"They were to relate the Acts of the late Parliament, with the reconciliation and absolution of the Lords and Commons. They were to give general notice that authority had been restored to the ecclesiastical courts to proceed against the enemies of the faith, and punish them according to law.

"A day was then to be fixed on which the clergy should appear with their confessions and be received into the church. A distinction was to be made between those who had taught heresy and those who had merely lapsed into it.

"When the clergy had been reconciled, they were again in turn to exhort the laity in all churches and cathedrals to accept the grace offered to them, and a time was to be assigned to them within which their submission must be all completed. A book was to be kept in every diocese, where the names were to be entered.

"A visitation was to be held throughout the country at the end of spring, and all who had not complied before Easter-day, or who, after compliance, had returned to their vomit, would be proceeded against with the utmost severity of the law.

"The introduction of the register was the Inquisition under another name; there was no limit except in humanity, or the prudence of the bishops, to the tyranny which they would be enabled to exercise.

"The cardinal professed to desire that before heretics were punished with death mild means should first be tried with them. The meaning which he attached to the words was illustrated in an instant example. On the day of their appearance Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, and three other prelates formed a court in St. Mary Overy's Church, in Southwark, and Bishop Hooper, and Rogers, a canon of St. Paul's, were brought up before them."

Rogers had distinguished himself in the early days of Protestantism; he had laboured with Tyndal and Coverdale, at Antwerp, in the translation of the Bible.

On the accession of King Edward, he had returned to England and had been appointed prebendary of St. Paul's and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, and worked among the London clergy till the end of the reign; and on Mary's accession he was one of the preachers at Paul's Cross who had dared to speak against the reaction.

He had been rebuked by the council, and his friends had urged him to fly, but, like Cranmer, he thought that duty required him to stay at his post, and without fresh provocation Bonner soon after shut him up in Newgate prison.

Hooper was one of the first persons arrested after Mary's accession; and Fleet prison had now been his house for eighteen months.

At first, on payment of heavy fees to the warden, he had lived in some degree of comfort, but as soon as his deprivation was declared, Gardiner ordered that he should be confined in one of the common prisoners' wards.

Here he had for his companions "a wicked man and a wicked woman," and for his bed straw and a rotten counterpane.

Rogers and Bishop Hooper were the first persons with whom the Marian persecutions opened, and on their appearance in the court they were required to make their submission.

They attempted to argue, but they were told that when Parliament had determined a thing, private men were not to call it in question, and they were allowed twenty-four hours to make up their minds.

As they were leaving the court Hooper was heard to say, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand and fry on these faggots?" "Yea, sir, with God's grace," Rogers answered. "Doubt not," Hooper said, "but God will give us strength."

They were taken back to prison, and the next morning brought again before the court. The queen's mercy was offered them, if they would recant; they refused, and they were sentenced to die.

Rogers asked to be allowed to take leave of his wife and children, but Gardiner, "with a savage taunt rejected the request." The day of execution was left uncertain; they were sent to Newgate to wait the queen's pleasure.

Early in the morning of the 4th of February Rogers was called upon to make ready for Smithfield. He was sleeping soundly, and was not easily awakened. He put on his clothes carelessly, being, as he said, so soon to lay them off.

Hooper had been sent for also, and both were brought before Bonner to undergo the ceremony of degradation. The vestments used in mass were thrown over them, and were then one by one removed.

They were pronounced deposed from the priestly office, incapable of offering further sacrifice, "except, indeed," as Froude so well puts it, "the only acceptable sacrifice which man can ever offer—the sacrifice of himself."

Rogers had ten children. Again he entreated permission to see his wife, and again he was refused.

The two friends were then parted. Hooper it was resolved should suffer at Gloucester. He was taken back to Newgate.

Rogers was handed over to the sheriffs, and led out to Smithfield.

"The Catholics," says Froude, "had affected to sneer at the faith of rivals. There was a general conviction among them, which was shared probably by Pole and Gardiner, that the Protestants would all flinch at the last, that they had 'no doctrine that would abide the fire.'

"When Rogers appeared, therefore, the exultation of the people in his constancy overpowered the horror of his fate, and he was received with rounds of cheers.

"His family, whom he was forbidden to part with in private, was waiting on the way to see him—his wife, with nine little ones

at her side and a tenth upon her breast—and they, too, welcomed him with hysterical cries of joy, as if he was on his way to a festival.

"Sir Robert Rochester was in attendance at the stake to report his behaviour.

"At the last moment he was offered pardon if he would give way, but in vain.

"The fire was lighted; the suffering was nothing; he bathed his hands in the flames as if it was cold water, raised his eyes to heaven, and died."

The same night a party of the royal guard took charge of Hooper. The mandate from the crown for his execution described him as "an obstinate, false, and detestable heretic." He was to be burned in the city of Gloucester, which, said the mandate, he had infected with his pernicious doctrines.

He was carried down to Gloucester on borseback by easy stages. He arrived there in three days, and was allowed for preparation one day's interval, which he spent in fasting and prayer.

His friends came to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, "since life was sweet and death was bitter." He answered, "the death that was to come after was more bitter, and the life that was to follow was more sweet."

After a good night's rest, Hooper rose early. He passed the morning in prayer, and when the guard entered his room he was on his knees.

The morning was windy and wet. He was led out to an open space, near a large elm, where he had been accustomed to preach, and several thousand people were collected to see him suffer.

He had suffered in prison from sciatica, and was lame, but he limped cheerfully along with a stick, and smiled when he saw the stake. At the foot of it he knelt and prayed for strength from God to endure his torment patiently.

The queen's pardon was offered him, but he cried, "Away with it! away with it!"

"Despatch him, then, seeing there is no remedy," said Lord Chandos.

He was undressed to his shirt, in the cold; a pound of gunpowder was tied between his legs, and as much more under either arm; he was fastened with an iron chain to the stake, and he assisted with his own hands to arrange the faggots round him.

The fire was then brought, but the wood being green, burnt badly, and had to be renewed several times. His sufferings were terrible, but he went through them with great patience, and prayed oft, "O Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me, and receive my soul."

"One of his hands," Bishop Burnet tells us, "dropped off before he died; with the other he contrived to knock on his breast some time after, and was in all three-quarters of an hour a-burning."

He died exclaiming, "Lord Jesu, have mercy on me! Lord Jesu, receive my spirit."

"The same day," says Froude, "Dr. Rowland Taylor [vicar of Hadley, Suffolk], was burnt at Aldham Common [near his church]."

He was condemned for hindering mass in his church. Some neighbouring priests came to Hadley resolved to say mass in his church, and he declared openly against it, and was by violence thrust out.

No man, he told Gardiner, had a right to come thither and defile his church and people with idolatry.

At the stake he was put in a pitched barrel, and "as the faggots were laying about him," says Bishop Burnet, "one flung a faggot at his head, which broke it, and fetched a great deal of blood; but all he said was, 'Oh, friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?'"

He repeated the fifty-first psalm in English, at which one of the guards struck him over the mouth, and bid him speak Latin.

"He continued in his ejaculations to God till the fire was kindled, and one of the guards cut him in the head with his halberd [a military weapon], so that his brains fell out. This was done on the 9th of February.

"Lawrence Sanders* had been destroyed the day before at Coventry, kissing the stake, and crying, 'Welcome the cross of Christ! Welcome everlasting life!' The first fruits of the Whitehall pageant were gathered.

"Of five who had been sentenced, four were thus despatched. Bradford, the fifth, was respited, in the hope that the example might tell upon him. Six more were waiting their condemnation in Bonner's prison.

"The enemies of the church were to submit or die; so said Gardiner, in the name of the English priesthood, with the passion

* George Marsh's vicar of Allhallows, Bread Street, London; vicar also, at the same time, of Church Langton, Leicestershire.

of a fierce revenge; so also said the legate and the queen, in the delirious belief that they were the chosen instruments of Providence."

Philip, however, advised by Renard, found it necessary to clear himself of responsibility, and on the 10th of February, the day after Hooper suffered, Alphonse, Philip's chaplain, preached a sermon in the royal presence against the taking away of people's lives for religion. "He told the bishops they had not learned it in Scripture, which taught them in the spirit of meekness to instruct those that opposed them, and not to burn them"; and for a few weeks a stop was put to further severities.

CHAPTER LIII.

"THE popish clergy, however, being once engaged in blood," says Bishop Burnett, "have been always observed to become the most cruel of any sort of men; so that it was not easy to restrain them; and therefore they resolved, rather than the heretics should not be prosecuted any further, to take the blame of it avowedly on themselves."

And so Queen Mary's bishops resumed their cruel work until twelve more Protestants, including Ferrars, bishop of St. David's, and George Marsh, of Deane, the last to suffer of this number, had been burnt.

Froude, briefly referring to the latter martyr, tells us that, "in the course of April [the 24th], George Marsh, a curate, was burnt at Chester.

"Sixteen persons," he continues, "had now been put to death, and there was again a pause for the sharp surgery to produce its effects."

"Marsh had been judged as the others had been," Bishop Burnet tells us; "only at his death there was a new invention of cruelty. A firkin of pitch was hung over his head, that, the fire melting it, it might scald his head as it dropped on it."

Leaving for further notice the record we possess of the affecting scene of the martyr's death, let us here relate, as far as we know, the incidents of the closing years of his previous brief life. And in this we shall be somewhat assisted if we here make short reference to the life of Lawrence Sanders, his vicar of Allhallows, London, and of Church Langton also, in Leicestershire.

A man of good parentage and born in London, Sanders received a college education. Leaving King's College, Cambridge, after many years' study, he, like George Marsh, engaged in business pursuits until, taking a dislike to his vocation, he went again to Cambridge.

"Then," says Foxe, "gave he himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scriptures, to qualify himself for the office of a preacher."

Students at the same university, the martyrs became there, in all probability, acquainted, and formed that close relationship which continued to their deaths at the stake, the one on the 8th of

George Marsh led to Execution

February, the other on the 24th of April, 1555, as we have already seen.

"In the beginning of King Edward's reign [1547], when God's true religion was begun to be restored, Saunders," continues Foxe, "began to preach, and was so liked by them who had authority that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where he edified the godly, drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouths of the adversaries.

"The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the cathedral at Lichfield, where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries gave him full report, as well of learning as of much godliness.

"After a time he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire called Church Langton, where he taught diligently and kept a liberal house."

Here, as at Allhallows, London, later on, he had for his curate the Deane martyr, who, in one of his letters written from his prison cell at Lancaster Castle, speaks of him in endearing terms as follows:

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and gentle master, Lawrence Sanders, in the cure of Langton,*; but the Lord, in his great mercy, would not suffer me to continue long there, although for the small time I was in His vineyard I was not an idle workman."

"Then," continues Foxe, "Sanders was called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread Street.

"At first Sanders was inclined to give up his country benefice, but he seeing the dreadful days at hand [Queen Mary had come to the throne], inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both these benefices, as time could serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now but into the hand of a papist.

"Thus he passed to and fro, preaching until that proclamation was put forth [prohibiting preaching without licence] of which mention is made in the beginning.

"At which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he, notwithstanding this proclamation, taught diligently God's truth until he was not only commanded to cease, but also resisted with force, so that he could not proceed in preaching.

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* Evidently the martyr was Sanders' curate here, before going to Allhallows, London.

"Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do.

"But seeing he was by violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock of which he had there the charge."

While on his way to London, Saturday, the 14th of October, 1553, he was overtaken by "Sir John Mordaunt, a councillor to Queen Mary," who, learning of Sanders' intention to preach at Allhallows Church the next day, Sunday, said, "I would counsel you not to preach." "If you would and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Sanders.

"Nay," replied he; "I will not forbid you, but I do give you counsel"; and thus they both entered the city and departed each from the other.

Undeterred by Sir John Mordaunt's warning, Sanders preached next morning in Allhallows, and "In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people.

"But the Bishop of London interrupted him by sending an officer for him, and when brought before this bishop, who had in his company the forenamed Sir John Mordaunt and some of his chaplains, Sanders was charged with treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, and heresy and sedition, for his sermon."

Bonner sent him to Gardiner, the lord chancellor, who, after asking many questions and being touched by Sanders' answers, at last said, "Carry away this frenzied fool to prison," and in prison he was confined till his martyrdom, a space of over fifteen months.

At this sudden interference with the ministerial functions at Allhallows, George Marsh returned to Lancashire, and at Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and elsewhere continued, as in London, "earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the overthrowing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons."

This Marsh continued to do until stopped by the Earl of Derby, then lord lieutenant of the county.

Dr. Halley, in his work on "Lancashire Puritanism," referring to this period, tells us that, "on the accession of Mary, the restoration of popery in Lancashire was accomplished with no great difficulty.

"In some places of the county the majority of the inhabitants had never professed to have been converted to the Protestant faith.

"Many of the parochial clergy, papist in their hearts, had said mass privately.

"The landed proprietors, except those who possessed the monastic property, generally returned to the religious observance of their fathers.

"The Earl of Derby, who had retired from public life, suddenly came out an orthodox 'Catholic,' and when the martyr Bradford was found writing several godly and comfortable letters to his Lancashire friends, declared that the letters were doing more harm to the church than he had ever done by his preaching. He was therefore determined that he should die, and he was burnt at Smithfield.

"To George Marsh, the other Protestant martyr of Lancashire, had been attributed the strong Protestant feeling of the south-eastern part of the county, and especially of the neighbourhood of Bolton.

"The marvellous traditions concerning him which prevailed among the common people of Bolton show the deep and solemn impressions which were produced upon the minds of many by his powerful ministry and glorious martyrdom.

"An old stone delf on the steep ascent of Rivington Pike, having some rude resemblance of seats cut in the rock, was long venerated by the Puritans of Bolton, Dean, and Chorley, as the sanctuary where their fathers were accustomed to meet early on Sunday mornings that they might hear the godly and comfortable letters which Marsh wrote in his prison, read aloud by some patriarchal Bradshaw, or Assheton, or Lever, or other elder of his beloved flock.

"Accused of preaching false doctrine in the church of Dean, he surrendered himself to Justice Barton, at Smithills Hall, by whom he was sent for further examination to the Earl of Derby, at Lathom Hall," near Ormskirk, then the ancient seat of the Derby family.

From this time we have, fortunately, in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, George Marsh's own account of what happened to him during the rest of his short life, written in prison at the request of friends who visited him.

Commencing with the first intelligence that Justice Barton's servants were seeking him, he tells us that "On Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th day of March [1554], it was told me at my mother's house [his father had evidently passed away, for no reference is made to him in any part of the narrative] that Roger Winstone, with others of Master Barton's servants, did make

diligent search for me in Bolton, and when they perceived I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh to find and bring me to Master Barton on the following day, with others, to be brought before the honourable Earl of Derby, there to be examined in matters of religion, etc.

"I, knowing this, by means of several of my friends, was variously affected, my mother and others of my friends advising me to fly and to avoid the peril, as I had intended to do after a week then next ensuing, if this in the meanwhile had not happened, seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with His Holy Spirit, I never will), it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troubles and painful imprisonment, to shameful death.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done if this had not happened.

"To whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree, thinking and saying to myself that if I fled it would be thought, reported, and said that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord.

"Being thus with their counsel and advice, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, I went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

"In the meantime I ceased not by earnest prayer to ask and seek counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts), and of others of my friends whose godly judgements and knowledge I much trusted unto.

"After this I met with one of my said friends on Deane Moor, about sunset, and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed. I, not fully determined what to do, but taking my leave of my friend, said I doubted not but God, according as our prayer and trust was, would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to His

honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of Mr. Barton's servants seeking after me, who when they could not find me strictly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night and bring me to Smithills the next day; who being so charged were gone to seek me in Adderton [probably a misprint for Atherton, distant about three miles, where his sister with her husband, Jeffery Hurst, resided], or elsewhere I know not.

"Thus intending before to have stayed all night with my Mother, but considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church and there stayed with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble."

This "old friend" of the martyr's is said to have been named Heaton, a farmer, resident at that time at Hulme Barn farm, lying a little way to the north-west of, and approached by an ancient foot path leading from, Deane, as well by the old Broad gate road. *Vide* "Barton's Gleanings," vol. 1, page 307.

"So at my first waking," continues the martyr, "one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read, nor yet looked on, who said this; my friend's advice was that I should in no wise flee, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ.

"At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience that from thenceforth I consulted no more whether it were better to fly or to tarry, but was at a point with myself that I would not flee, but go to Mr. Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such Cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders.

"Whereupon my mind and conscience, which were before uneasy and troubled, were now cheerful and in a quiet state.

"So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as my custom was) with other prayers kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go towards Smithills; and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdows, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson, desiring them to pray for me, and to commend me to all friends, to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children, for (as I supposed) they would not see my face

any more, before the last day; and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both sides, and arrived at Smithills about nine o'clock, and presented myself before Mr. Barton, who showed me a letter from the Earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Lathom.

"Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock before the said earl or his council.

"I made earnest suit, with other special friends which I had there at the time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take some one of them, or all of them, bound by recognizance or otherwise for my appearance before the said earl or his council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of feeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

"So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and so departing from them, and went towards Lathom, and lay all night within a mile and a half of it.

"The next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Lathom betimes, and tarried there till four o'clock in the afternoon.

"Then I was called by Roger Makinson to come to my lord and his council; and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where were present Sir William Nores, Sir Pierce Alee, Mr. Sherburn, the parson of Grapenall,* Mr. More, with others, where, when I had tarried a while, my lord turned him toward me and asked what was my name. I answered, Marsh.

"Then he asked me if I was one of those that sowed evil seed amongst the people; which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me; but this I could not know.

"He then said he would, with his council, examine me himself, and asked me whether I was a priest. I answered, No. Then he asked me about what had been my living. I said I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school.

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* A parish on the south side of the Mersey, in Cheshire, opposite to Warrington; vicar, Richard Gerard, made rector of Wigan, same year, by Lord Derby.

North Side of Deane Valley, as seen from Deane Road – Hills of Smithills in the distance.

"My lord then said to his council, This is a wonderful thing. Before he said he was no priest, and now he confessed himself to be one. I answered, By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.

"Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered I received orders of the Bishops of London and Lincoln [Ridley and Taylor, already referred to].

"On this they said one to another, Those are of those new heretics, and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered I never saw them but at the time I received orders.

"They asked me how long I had been a curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience; to which I answered I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God, and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again.

"Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grapenall said this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

"Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament do teach, and according as the four creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called Apostolorum, the creed of Nice Council, of Athanasius and of Austin, and Ambrose do teach.

"But after a few words the parson of Grapenall said, But what is thy belief of the sacrament of the altar?

"I answered, I believed that whosoever according to Christ's institution did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of His death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ, said I, is ever present with His sacrament.

"Then asked they me whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ.

"Whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had shewed already. 'For my knowledge is unperfect,' said I, desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions whereby to bring my body into danger of death and to suck my blood.

Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no bloodsuckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian man.

"So after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife, my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to come to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above-named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereat he being much offended commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but to do it.

"Then I took the pen and wrote, that I knew not. Whereat he being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words, and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to prison in a cold, windy, stone house, where there was very little room; and here I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvas tent-clothes; but afterwards I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study, for no man was suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

"On Palm Sunday, in the afternoon, I was sent for to my lord and his Council (saving Sir William Nores and Sir Pierce Alee were not then present in place), amongst whom was Sir John Beram, and the Vicar of Prescot.

"So they examined me yet once again concerning the sacrament; and after I had communed apart with the Vicar of Prescot* a good while about that matter, he returned to my lord and his Council with me, saying, That answer which I had made before, and now did make, as it is above written, was sufficient for a beginner and as one who did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further.

"Wherewith the Earl was very well pleased, saying he doubted not but by the means and help of the Vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things.

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* Prescot is in the vicinity of Knowsley Hall, now the family seat of the Derby family. Robert Brassey was vicar 1541-58.

"So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

"And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than before, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as my adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me, whereat I was much grieved; for hitherto I went about as much as in me lay to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, it could be done.

"This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with His Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him, and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled by their philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ."

CHAPTER LIV.

"AND so, after a day or two," continues the martyr, "I was sent for by the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grappenall, where the most of our talk was concerning the mass, and he asked me what offended me in the mass. I answered the whole mass offended me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

"Then they asked me in what place thereof, and I named certain places, which places they went about with gentle far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying these words were understood far otherwise than the words did purpose, or than I did take them.

"I answered I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them. They said sacrificium or oblation did not in the mass signify anything else than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation.

"So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and shewed me where in some places of the mass was written 'Sacrificium laudis,' whereto I answered that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people, for that did Christ by his own passion once suffer on the cross; where the words of the mass were that priest offered an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself and the people, for them that were dead and for the salvation of the living; and that the communion of the body and blood of Christ was health both of body and soul.

"The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people.

"So after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true Catholic church, which, as they meant, was the Romish church, I departed not consenting unto them.

"So within a day or two came to me Mr. More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of King

Henry Eight, and wished me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles; and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to them, for if I should it would be against my conscience; and so he departed.

"So within a short time after, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying my lord would be at a short point with me; for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison immediately. The articles were as follows:

I. Whether the mass now used in the Church of England was according to Christ's institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and seen?

II. Whether the Almighty by the words pronounced by the priest did change the bread and wine, after words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

III. Whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

IV. Whether confession to the priest now used in England was godly and necessary?

"These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with my own hand, and come again. So within half an hour I came to them again, and delivered the questions with my answers.

"The first I denied.

"The second I answered as I did to my lord before, and as is above written.

"To the third I answered that the lay people, by Christ's institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only.

"Fourthly, that though confession auricular was a convenient means to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

"They much exhorted me to leave my opinions, saying I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss, and much counselled me to follow the Catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did.

"I answered my faith in Christ, conceived by His holy Word, I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change for any living creature whatsoever he were, desiring to speak to my lord that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things, according to their ability; and so, after much exhortation of them to do and believe as the Catholic church did, we departed, I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

"Upon one of the Easter holidays, Mr. Sherburn and Mr. More sent for me, persuading me much to leave my opinions, saying all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had ill-luck, and were either put to death or imprisoned, and in danger of death.

"Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things; with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom, for as to the Scriptures, Mr. Sherburn confessed himself ignorant.

"I answered that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying my soul and life were dearer to me than avoiding of any worldly shame; neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

"Then Mr. More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup.

"Then he told me of the twenty-fourth of Luke, and the twentieth of the Acts, where was but mention of breaking of bread only, whereof he gathered that they received the sacrament but under one kind.

"That I denied, saying those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament both of the body and blood of Christ, according to His institution.

"So, after much other communication of that matter, Mr. Sherburn said that it was a pity such a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to foolish opinions.

"I answered as I had done to my lord before and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to lose them as any other would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the

ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was that God would strengthen me with His Holy Spirit to lose them all for His sake. For I take myself for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me.

"And so after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

"Mr. More after this brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus, a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time, desiring me to read and take counsel of that book; and appointed me a place where this author did unite against them that say, 'thereby people ought to receive under both kinds.'

"This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melanchton, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish Church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same, using for his strongest and surest arguments the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish Church.

"So within a few days Mr. More came to me again, asking how I liked the book. I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish Church, and shewed him further that this author, without authority and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self that Christ's Church, 900 years after Christ, used the contrary.

"So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholic faith, stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit.

"I answered, for my learning I acknowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even Him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as I doubted not pleased God and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, selfishness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience and in the fear of God; and desired him to speak to my lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer,

"Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head and appointed the days of my life, saying I am sure God, who is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me and departed.

"I continued still in prison until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Robert Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster, and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my lord's servants accompanying and bringing me on the way unto Richard Adderton's and somewhat further, counselling and persuading in the usual manner.

"To whom I made plain answer that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature, so they comforted me and said they were sorry for me, saying, if I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and so they departed, desiring my bringers to treat me with honesty.

"My conductors by the way told me that they were desired and advised to bind me, but that they desired first to see me; and after they had seen me sitting at dinner they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

"The first night we staid at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster about noon. They kept me all night with them out of good nature, and in the morning delivered me to the gaoler, who took me into the highest prison, where I do remain."

Here Marsh was visited by an entire stranger from Manchester, named Robert Langley, whose kind sympathy, together with that of other unknown friends, conveyed through him, put the martyr "in comfort," and caused him to "rejoice greatly in the Lord," as we learn from the following undated letter* acknowledging his gratitude:

"From the Rev. Mr. George Marsh to Robert Langley and friends.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you good brethren in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly. Amen.

"After hasty commendations to you, with thanks that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, although unacquainted, to your cost, this shall be to let you know that ye shall receive from me

* Only one or two of the martyr's letters are found dated.

mine examination and handling at Latham, and the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I did promise you, and this ye shall receive of my brother, or some of the Bradshaws, of Bolton, within this se'ennight, willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again.

"And whereas you did put me in comfort that if I did want anything necessary unto this life you, with some others, would be bearers with me in this very costly and painful affliction, I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the meanwhile to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

"Yours,

"George Marsh."

To another of his unknown benefactors the martyr wrote as follows:

"Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

"After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person, to you unknown, this shall be to certify you that I rejoice greatly in the Lord when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers hitherto unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for the present life, but also comfortable letters encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and established in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Gospel, wherefore, according to my small intent, I have been a minister; and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my trust, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me would vouchsafe to go forth with until the day of Jesus Christ, being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will do so, forasmuch as he hath given me that not only I should

believe on him, but suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed which, enduring to the end, shall be saved.

"And whereas you say that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer that in all my adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation to me than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the Apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, 'now are we alive, if we stand steadfast in the Lord.' For my trust in the Lord is that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the Gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers whereof some, being but wayside hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved; but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them, and no doubt God will to your consolation gloriously deliver by one means or the other his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure, be strong, let your heart be of good comfort, and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not, that will come; look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

"Yours,

"George Marsh."

In all probability it was at this time that the martyr wrote—at the request of friends, and to correct erroneous reports prevailing as to the cause of his imprisonment—the account of his examinations at Smithills and Lathom. Referring to his examination at the latter place, he says:

"Forasmuch as not only when I was at Lathom, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, both at Lathom and at Lancaster, as by credible persons I am informed—some saying it was only because I would not do open penance, and some because I could not agree with my lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there; some because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only—I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own handwriting of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind.

"And therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, not omitting anything at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me. Howbeit, I perceive in some things, I keep not the same order in writing, that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me, afore or after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this, telling the truth as near as I can; desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me, and them that be in bonds, that God would assist us with His Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess His holy name, and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies; that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be honour and glory, world without end. Amen."

The martyr adds: "While I was in ward at Lathom, divers at sundry times came to me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted and were gone home; whereas, indeed, that was not so, for I saw divers of them divers times afterward. Others said that it was reported, amongst my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council."

To the foregoing we may add another undated communication of the martyr, which, like it, evidently refers to the Lathom examination. It reads as follows:—

"Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught; and as yet do believe, profess, and teach, and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day.

"The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this pit of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"I thought myself, now of late years, for the cares of this life well settled, with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceful possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it; but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me, whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also, I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Mr. Lawrence Sanders, in the cure of

Langton; but the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue, although for the small time I was in his vineyard I was not an idle workman, but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose Church, I see it well, stands not in the harmonious sounds of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of mitres and copes, nor in the shining of gilt images and lights, but in continual labours and daily afflictions.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees. I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; and, as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures whether those things which be preached to you be even so or not, or else by their outward conversation you may be easily deceived."

To his old friends, "The faithful professors at Langton," the martyr wrote a long but interesting letter, from which we extract the following passages:

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord, at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before. And to exhort you, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye stand fast and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you, by your late pastor Mr. Sanders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ; which now, when persecution ariseth because of the Word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the Gospel whereof they have been preachers. But are willing and ready, for your sakes, to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life—I mean their native countries, friends, livings, etc.—but also to fulfil their ministry to the uttermost, that is, to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall require to confirm and seal Christ's words, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus,

"Let us, therefore, receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock, Christ; for, as the apostle saith, other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God, and to the word of His grace, which is able to build you further, and to give you an inheritance among them that are sanctified; beseeching you to help Mr. Sanders and me, your late pastors,* and all them that be in bonds for the Gospel's sake, with your prayers for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men. And that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world, and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life. Amen.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren, and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen.

"The 28th of June [1554], by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner,

"George Marsh."

* Evidently George Marsh was Lawrence Sander's curate at Church Langton before going to Allhallows, London.

CHAPTER LV.

THE foregoing letter, it will have been noticed, is addressed to the faithful professors at Langton—not Church Langton—an extensive district which includes the latter, as will be seen from the following extract taken from Britton's interesting work, "The Beauties of England and Wales, 1807," vol. 9, page 440:—

"Langton, a considerable district in the south part of the county [Leicestershire], comprehends the five chapelries and hamlets of Church Langton, East Langton, West Langton, Thorpe Langton, and Tur-Langton.

"The three former, though distinct manors, may be considered as one district; the two latter have separate chapels, but each has an appropriated aisle in the mother church.

"Church Langton is pleasantly situated on an eminence, at the distance of four miles from Harborough."

Probably "the faithful professors" referred to were connected with some high school at Langton to which the gentry sent their sons to be educated.

Here too Marsh himself may, possibly, have kept a school before Sanders made him his curate, seeing we learn from his examinations that he had been a schoolmaster as well as a curate.

Resuming the martyr's narrative, he tells us that on the day of sessions, at Lancaster, he was brought into court, and there "arraigned at the bar amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did."

Again examined by Lord Derby, "I told his lordship," says the martyr, "that I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came to Lancashire but lately to visit my mother, children, and other of my friends, and meant to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me wherein I had offended against the laws of the realm, his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother; but suffer me to depart peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of my own will came to his lordship.

"He said to his council he had heard tell of me before, at London, and intended to have made search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or at London, and asked me to what land I would have gone.

"I answered I would have gone either into Almain [Germany], or else into Denmark. He said to his council, in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England; but as for Almain, he said the emperor [Charles V.] had destroyed them.

"So after such like words I said unto him, my trust was that his lordship, being of the honourable council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, under greater pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me for continuing the same with so good a conscience.

"He answered that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgot, did not consent to these acts, and that the names of them four would be seen as long as Parliament-house stood. Then my lord did rehearse the evil luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again, the prosperity of the queen's highness because she favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil, and said that the Duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

"While I was at Lancaster at this session time," continues the martyr, "many came to me to talk with me. Some of good-will towards me, but without knowledge, gave me such like counsel as Peter gave to Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, 'Master, favour thyself, this thing shall not be unto thee.'

"But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again, who, turning about, said unto Peter, 'Come behind me, Satan,' and perceiving that they were an hindrance unto me, and that they favoured not the things which are of God, but the things which are of men, I made them plain answer that I neither could nor would follow their counsel, but, by God's grace, I would both live and die with a pure conscience and according as I have hitherto believed and professed.

"For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us ever so well, who go about to pluck us away from the

obedience we owe unto God and to His word, but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

"Some others, yea even strangers also, came to me far unlike these, who, after sober conversation, had consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troubled state, giving comfortable words and some of them money too, and resorted to me oftentimes for the space of two, three, or four days.

"There came also many priests to me by 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6 at once, whose mouths it was easy enough to stop, for the priests (which is much to be lamented) are not always the greatest scholars and best learned in the word of God.

"At their departing they either agreed with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying they could find no fault in my words.

"My communication with them was about the sacrament.

"There came also into the prison to me Mr. Ashton of Hill, Mr. Ashton of Chatterton, and many more both gentlemen and others to my great comfort.

"Unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience, for God to strengthen me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before (everlasting thanks be given therefor) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar amongst them with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did, but yet with boldness I spoke unto them so long as they would suffer me.

"They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where amongst other things they laid it straightly to my charge that I knew many good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion, and straightly charged me upon pain of allegiance to the Queen's grace, to shew who they were.

"But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was indeed a false forged lie of some wicked wretches).

"After that, they threatened and rebuked me for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it; and for my praying and preaching so loud that the people in the streets might hear.

"The truth is, I and my fellow prisoner Warburton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible commonly towards night.

"And we read all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us read, and sat under our windows, wherewith others being offended, complained."

Here let us add the prayer the martyr tells us he used daily; it is as follows:—

"O Lord Jesus Christ, who art the only physican of wounded consciences, we, miserable sinners trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our hearts, with all the root, boughs, leaves, and fruit, and with all the crooks, knots, and knowres, all of which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit, inwardly and deadly.

"Wherefore we beseech thee according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and in place of these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed, and our hearts always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness unto life everlasting. Amen.

"Beloved," continues the martyr, "among other exercises, I do daily, on my knees, use this confession of sins willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your belief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him.

"This will ye do, if ye will diligently consider and behold yourself: first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same, that is, to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ, for we truly are sinners; but he is just, and the justifier of them that believe on him.

"If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feast maker.

"He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us, and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink.

"He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests who hunger and thirst; 'Come,' saith he, 'all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest for your souls.'"

Alluding to these readings and prayers, Dr. Halley says, "we may imagine during the twilight of the long summer evenings in the cool breezes of Morecambe Bay, the town's people, and among them the mayor, sitting upon the ramparts of the old castle, and listening to the prayers and praises of the prisoners.

"Some of these good people contributed to supply the wants of the sufferers, who by their devotion made the Castle Hill a place where prayer was wont to be made.

"Of the letters written by Marsh from his prison much has been said, as they contain allusions to the godly ancestors of many of the Puritan families of Bolton, the Cromptons, the Levers, the Langleys, the Bradshaws, the Asshetons, and others, and were long preserved as very precious treasures in the Puritan houses of the neighbourhood.

"On examining them we do not wonder that read to the people assembled in the hollow of Rivington Pike, copied by schoolboys, and handed about in the farmhouses and cottages of the moors, they preserved and cherished the principles of the Reformation in the country round Bolton, and did much to give it the character of the Geneva of Lancashire.

"Of the letters to his Manchester friends we can give only an extract, one, however, of great force as well as truth and beauty:—

"'Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation.

"'For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by the prophet Esaias) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things, but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils, and labours), like as if there were a fire at the right hand and deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small that there could but one man go there.

"'If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went through this perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and strait way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life; let us not stagger or turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our Captain, Jesus Christ, in the narrow and straight way, and be afraid of nothing, not even death itself, for

it is He that must lead us to our journey's end, and open to us the door of everlasting life.' "

The following further extract from the martyr's letter will also be found interesting as referring to Bradford, the Manchester martyr :—

"And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the forefront of this battle, where (for the time) is most danger, I beseech you all in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all our fellow soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy, mingled with patience, in the fear of God, that ye, and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you :—

The letter is dated Lancaster, the 30th of August, 1554.

To friends in Bolton and neighbourhood the martyr wrote as follows :—

"To my well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crompton, James Lever, Ellis Fogg, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Ellis Crompton, and to every one of them be these delivered from Lancaster.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ ; these be earnestly to exhort you, yea, and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit in the Gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed and taught us, but by his holy Word.

"And though all men for the most part defile themselves with the wicked tradition of men and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ, yet do ye after the example of Tobit, Daniel and his three companions, Matthias and his five sons—be at a point with yourselves that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen ; I mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish

ceremonies of the papists; but, as true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and in truth, according to His sacred Scriptures, which I could wish and desire you above all things continually and reverently (as both Christ and St. Paul command you) to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great starvation of souls, for want of the food of God's Word.

"And doubt not but that the merciful Lord, who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in His name He will be in the midst of them, will assist you and teach you the right meaning of the sacred truth, as He hath faithfully promised.

"And though you think yourselves unable to teach, yet at the commandment of Christ now in time of famine, the hungry people being in a wilderness far from any towns, who if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way, empty and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many. And He that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts to you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and His holy word. And fear not your adversaries; for either according to His accustomed manner God shall so blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, or get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.

"Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provisions for your households, chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children, but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Tobias and Susannah did their children, even from their infancy to reverence God according to His law, and to abstain from sin, providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from Him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep His commandments, and though the plague of God chance upon

you, yet remain ye stedfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank Him and serve Him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before Him all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in Him who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but He will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. 'I will be with you' (saith He) 'unto the end of the world.' And cleave you fast unto Him, who was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins; yea, rose again from the dead and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute forget not. Fast and pray busily, and as every man has received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

"Yours,

"George Marsh."

Of letters addressed to the martyr only one, unfortunately, has been preserved, and it reads as under :—

"From James Bradshaw, a godly brother, to the Rev. Mr. George Marsh, in prison.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ be with you alway; Amen.

"We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to see you take the Cross so thankfully. Trouble and affliction prove, try, instruct, confirm and strengthen the faith; provoke and stir up prayer, drive and force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy, to gentleness, to soberness, temperance, and to all manner of virtues; and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as well transitory as eternal, in this world as in the world to come.

"There is neither good nor bad, godly or ungodly, but he hath one cross or other. And although some there be that can shift for awhile, and make provision for themselves for a time, by craft and subtlety and dissimulation, or by some falsehood in fellowship as they call it, yet they bring themselves at length into the highest danger, confusion, and shame, both in this world and in the world to

come. And seeing that all the troubles and adversity in this world are a thousand times more light and easy, yea nothing in comparison to the eternal fire which is prepared, and already kindled, for the unfaithful, wicked enemies of God, all faithful and godly persons ought to bear and suffer their transitory afflictions and adversity the more patiently, willingly and thankfully; considering and remembering all the dearly beloved friends of God, also were wonderfully vexed and plagued by their enemies; Abraham of the Chaldees, Lot of the Sodomites. Isaac of Ishmael, Jacob of Esau, Moses of his people, David of Saul and of his own Son. As for Job, he had not a drop of blood in his body. John the Baptist, the holiest that ever was born of a woman, was, without any law, right, or reason, beheaded in prison, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

"We have many thousands of fellow martyrs and companions of our misery and adversity, in respect of whose imprisonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beasts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we suffer is but a blast of wind. Therefore now, whosoever is ashamed of the Cross of Christ, and agrieved therewith, the same is ashamed to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the last day.

"Thus I leave for this time, beseeching you to let me have your advice, because I do not outwardly speak with my tongue what I do not think in my heart. Pray for me as I do for you. I beseech the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping always. Amen.

"By your friend,

"James Bradshaw."

"All this while," says Foxe, "George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Doctor Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester, of whose coming then unto Lancaster the said George Marsh reporteth himself."

It may be desirable to say here that George Cotes, from being master of Baliol College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Chester May 1st, 1554—a few weeks after the martyr was sent to Lathom House—in place of Dr. Bird, deposed from the see for having a wife.

Marsh, continuing his narrative, says: "The bishop being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry, as holy water casting, procession gadding, mattins mumbling, mass hearing, idols up-setting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by

God; but no Gospel preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded.

"He was informed of me, and was desired to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily.

"And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the gaoler and rebuked him because he suffered me to fare so well, desiring to have me more straightly kept and dieted; but if his lordship were tabled but one week with me, I think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

"Also he and his chaplains and chancellor did find fault with the schoolmaster and others for speaking to me as a most heinous heretic, and also with the gaoler for suffering them.

"Such is the mercy that these religious fathers shew to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, as Christ saith, no man can judge such for any other but the very enemies to Christ and His true religion. God lay it not to their charges but forgive them and turn their hard hearts, if it be His will."

With this ends, so far as we find recorded, the martyr's own written account of himself.

CHAPTER LVI.

EVENTUALLY the martyr was removed to Chester, and soon after "he was sent for by the bishop," says Foxe, "to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they two; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament, who made such answer as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass nor that the lay people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him; howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain.

"Much other talk he had with him to move him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison* again.

"And after being there, there came to him divers times one Massey, a fatherly old man; one Wrench, the schoolmaster; one Hensham, the bishop's chaplain; and the archdeacon, with many more, who, with all probability of words, and philosophy or worldly wisdom, and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, but not after Christ, went about to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be the head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that the church did, with many such like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

"To whom the said Mr. George Marsh answered that he did acknowledge and believe one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and Him only worship, and one only Messiah, and in Him only trust for salvation; which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is built only upon the foundations of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head

* A room in the ancient abbey gateway, north side, now occupied by a firm of solicitors.

Corner-stone, and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

"And where they said the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of 1,500 years and more, he made answer that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither was it bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers; nor had it any supremacy over empires and kingdoms; but it was a poor, simple flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children, and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, councils, and word of Christ, he being the supreme head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever encompassed about.

"He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt, by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that the church was of no estimation and little in comparison with the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

"He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, who suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengthens us with His holy spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, against which all his adversaries were not able to resist.

"Now after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing his prisoner and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretics, etc., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady's Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and Fulke Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop but somewhat lower; George Wenslow, chancellor, and one John Chetham, recorder, sat directly opposite the said bishop.

"Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him.

"Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid to his charge that he had preached and openly published most blasphemously and heretically within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January and February, or some other time of the year preceding [1554], directly against the pope's authority and Catholic Church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles.

"Unto all which in sum he answered that he neither heretically nor blasphemously spake or preached against any of the said articles, but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles as, said he, all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late King Edward VI.*

"Then they bade him answer directly 'Yea' or 'Nay,' without circumstance, for they were come to examine, and not to dispute, at that present.

"Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said King Edward; whose answers were every one noted and written by the recorder, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be had.

"After this the company for the present broke up, and he was returned to his prison again.

"Within three weeks after this or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before-named being there assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by the keeper and others, with bills and divers other weapons, before them, where the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disorder for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition

* "Words which must," says Dr. Halley, "have deeply impressed the hearts of his judges."

towards the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do was in vain, so that he was now resolved, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definite against him.

"Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh now to be well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life; and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be too late after the sentence was given, though he would ever so gladly desire it.

"Then the said chancellor first asked him whether he was not one of the bishop's diocese? To which he answered he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked whether he had not lately been in Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered 'Yea.'

"Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he had made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he asked him whether he would stick to the same or no? to which he answered again 'Yea, yea.'

"How say you then to this? quoth the chancellor. In your last examination, amongst other damnable and schismatic heresies, you said that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time was the true church, and that the Church of Rome is not the true and catholic church. I so said indeed (quoth Marsh), and I believe it to be true.

"Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the Bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anaeletus, and Clement, that were Bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, yes, and divers others; but (said he) they claimed no more authority in England than the Archbishop of Canterbury does at Rome; and I strive not, quoth he, with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed, then, said the bishop. In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?

"To whom George Marsh answered and said; Ah, my lord, I pray you not to judge so of me; I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case ought not to be arrogant,

neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of your doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For where Christ in the institution thereof, did deliver the cup as well as the bread, saying Drink ye all of this, and Mark declareth that they did drink of it. In like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians; and in the same manner was it used in the primitive church for the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of Rome taketh away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word, that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

"Then said the bishop, there is no disputing with an heretic. And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same, being as they were, he said, full of heresy, or else forsake them and come unto the Catholic Church?

"To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him and say that he held any grievous heresy) that in all articles of religion, he held no other opinion than was by law most godly established and taught in England at the death of King Edward sixth, and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would (by God's grace) stand, live, and die.

"Here the chancellor spake to one Leach, who stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him for his presence did him no good.

"This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read a sentence of condemnation. But when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called to him and said, good my lord, stay, stay, for if ye proceed any further it will be too late to call it again, and so the bishop stopped.

"Then his popish priests and many other of the ignorant people called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant, and amongst others one Pullein, a shoemaker, said to him: For shame man, remember thyself, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him; so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him and he would pray for them.

"The bishop then asked him again whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered he did gladly desire

The Martyrdom *of* Mr George Marsh, *at* Chester *April* 24*th*, 1555.

the same, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so merit everlasting death.

"Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor, with a glavering and smiling countenance, called to the bishop and said, Yet, good my lord, once again stay, for if that word be spoken, all is past; no relenting will then serve. And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, I would stay if it would be.

"How sayest thou (quoth he), wilt thou recant? Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him so do, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life.

"To whom he answered: I would as gladly live as you if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and again he should deny me before his Father in heaven.

"So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and straight after said unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee than I will for a dog. And Marsh answered that, notwithstanding, he would pray for his lordship; and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city.

"Then his late keeper bade him farewell, good George, with weeping tears, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the Northgate, where he was very straightly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

"For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that wished him good could speak with him, or at least durst venture so to do for fear of accusation; and some of the citizens who loved him in God for the Gospels' sake (whereof there were but a few), although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city that went into the said dark prison, call to him and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully that he did well, and thanked God most highly that He would vouchsafe of His mercy to appoint him to be a witness of His truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice, beseeching Him that He would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to His glory and comfort of His church; with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ.

"Once or twice he had money cast in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings at another time, for which he gave God thanks and used the same as he had need."

Dr. Halley, referring to the martyr's prison at this time, says: "We have an account of the horrible dungeon in which Marsh was confined in the life of Mr. Nield, inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1817, part 1, page 305:

"'I went down the steps to the dungeon. I almost now feel the horror with which I was struck, ... as dark as pitch, ... not a breath of air but what was admitted through a small hole, ... beyond imagination horrid and dreadful.'" This was in the year 1776.

"When the time and day appointed came," continues Foxe, "that Marsh should suffer, the sheriffs of the city (whose names were Amry and Cooper), with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers, with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the Northgate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet.

"And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some people proffered him money, and expected he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as it had been the custom in that city, in times past, when the felons were going to their execution), to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals of masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved; but Marsh said he would not, as them, be troubled with money, but desired some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners and poor people.

"So he went all the way unto his death, with his book in his hand, looking upon the same, and many of the people said, This man goeth not unto his death like a thief, or as one that deserveth to die.

"Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-broughton, one Vawdry, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, shewed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying that it was a pardon for him if he would recant.

"Whereat Marsh answered that he would gladly accept the same, and further said that he loved the queen, but forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

"After that he began to speak to the people, shewing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said: George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now. To whom he answered, Master, I cry you mercy; and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, then was he chained unto the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same, over his head. But by reason of the fire being unskilfully made, and the wind driving the flame to and fro, he suffered great extremity at his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

"Wherein this is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that those who stood before him could scarcely see the chain wherewith he was bound, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding, suddenly he spread forth his arms, saying, 'Father of Heaven have mercy upon me,' and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

"Upon this many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvellously, patiently, and godly, which caused the bishop shortly after to preach a sermon in the cathedral, and therein affirmed that the said George Marsh was a heretic, and was now a firebrand in hell.

"The just judgement of God shortly after fell upon the same bishop, who died under the common suspicion of being affected with a loathsome disease, the reward and consequence of unchaste conduct. And thus the oppressed and the oppressor, who are both in the Lord's hands, were both summoned to appear before the judgement seat of Christ."

"He lived not long after his consecration," says Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire, "yet as little while as he lived, he washed his hands in the blood of a goodly martyr. He died at Chester in 1555 [the same year he sentenced George Marsh], and was obscurely buried in the cathedral near the bishop's throne."

Under date 1555, the same historian makes reference to the martyr as follows:—

"This year George Marsh was burned at Spital Boughton, within the liberties of the city, for the profession of the Gospel, who did constantly endure his martyrdom with such patience as was wonderful.

"Dr. Cowper,"* continues the historian, "adds to this account that after the exhibition of a conditional pardon by the vice-chamberlain, Mr. Vawdrey, and the refusal of it by Marsh on the terms of recantation, the people pressed forward to attempt a rescue, headed by the Sheriff Cowper, who was much afflicted with the martyr's sufferings.

"Mr. Cowper was, however, beaten off by the other sheriff, and effecting his escape fled over Holt Bridge into Wales, was soon after outlawed, and had his estate seized on by the government.

"After this Cowper remained privately in Carnarvonshire until the death of Queen Mary.

"The ashes of Marsh were privately interred in the burial ground of the chapel of St. Giles in Spital Boughton."

This chapel was attached to a hospital founded for lepers by Randle Blunderville, sixth Earl of Chester, living in 1188, and, like the chapel, it was dedicated to St. Giles.

"The hospital and the chapel," adds Ormerod in another part of his interesting work, "were completely destroyed during the siege of Chester in 1645. The site is still [1819] used as a churchyard, and in it," he again tells us, "are deposited such of the ashes of the martyr, George Marsh, as could be collected after his execution at the stake in 1555."

Later on the site appears to have been covered with houses except a small relic—seen at the present day—of the churchyard, namely, a circular mound of earth, which, covered with tombstones, contains, probably, the ashes of some long departed members of the hospital, if not the ashes of the Deane martyr.

Protected by a stone wall built round it and, outside that, by a pallisading, the mound stands some six feet above the surrounding ground, the latter having, apparently, been reduced to its present level when turned into building-land.

This part of Boughton is adjacent to the river Dee, which, changing its course from east to south, here makes a beautiful bend round what is called "the earle's eye," the meaning of which we have not been able to learn.

Looking westward from the mound, there is a delightful view of the Dee and Chester, the latter about a mile distant.

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* Antiquary and, in 1745, Mayor of Chester; he left many MS. works of his own, relating to Cheshire.

MARSH MEMORIAL OBELISK, CHESTER.

Boughton, from being a district of the parish of St. John's, Chester, the ancient church of which contains the tablet in memory of the Deane martyr, already referred to, became in 1846 a separate parish, with a church dedicated to St. Paul, the living of which is in the gift of the vicar of the mother church. Vide Clergy List.

And it is in this Boughton parish, and on the same road Marsh was led from his prison at Chester to the stake, fixed within a mile to the east of the cathedral, and a little short of the mound referred to, that we find a memorial erected, in 1898, to the memory of the martyr, by a lady named Nessie Brown, residing on the banks of the Dee, near the spot.

In the form of an obelisk, the memorial bears the following inscriptions :—

Front Side :

"TO THE MEMORY OF
GEORGE MARSH,
MARTYR,
WHO WAS BURNT TO DEATH
NEAR THIS SPOT FOR THE TRUTH'S SAKE,
APRIL 24TH, 1555.
'AND I SAW UNDER THE ALTAR THE SOULS OF THEM THAT
WERE SLAIN FOR THE WORD OF GOD AND FOR THE
TESTIMONY WHICH THEY HELD.'—REV. VI., 9."

Right Side :

"GEORGE MARSH,
BORN AT DEAN, CO. LANCASTER,
A.D. 1515."

Rear Side :

"HENRY STOLTERFOTH,
MAYOR,
1898."

Left Side :

"ERECTED BY NESSIE BROWN,
A.D. 1898."

CHAPTER LVII.

HONOURED thus at the place of his death, we are also glad to know the martyr has not been forgotten at Deane, the place of his birth. Here, thanks to the present vicar, Mr. Patterson, the ancient churchyard has been adorned with a beautiful cross to the martyr's memory since 1893, while a further memorial of him, a three-light stained window, dated 1897, depicting the three graces—Faith, Hope, and Charity—has been placed on the north side of the venerable church, the thanking offering—after forty years' happy married life—of the humble writer of this work, and his wife Mary.

It is also interesting to know that there are members of the Marsh family still living in Deane and neighbourhood, though not so numerous now as in the schooldays of the writer.

The poor-rate assessment book for Rumworth Township—1840—shows the following :—

James Marsh, Broadgate, Land and Buildings,	Rateable Value,	£42	3	3
George Marsh, Deane Moor, do.	do.	2	2	0
Edward Marsh, Fernhill Gate, House,	do.	2	2	0
George Marsh [son of above George], Deane, House,	do.	1	16	9
John Marsh [son of above James], Deane, Queen Ann Inn - - - -	do.	19	10	0
Do. Deane, Land and Buildings [church glebe]	do.	72	0	2

With these families the writer, then in his infancy, became in time acquainted. James (the eldest), George, and Edward were three brothers, all born at Broadgate farm, the seat of the Marsh family from time immemorial, and probably the birthplace of the martyr Marsh.

James Marsh for many years united with the duties of his farm those of overseer of the poor—his signature is appended to the assessment referred to—and collector of, then, "Queen's Taxes."

And long before the police force came into being, he filled the important office of constable for Rumworth township, in which Broadgate farm was then situate, but now in Deane township, since the former became, a few years back, divided for municipal purposes into the two townships of Deane and Rumworth.

James was the father of the John Marsh named in the assessment. He, as we have seen, kept the Queen Ann Inn at Deane, and, in

addition, rented the church glebe, his cousin, Richard Marsh, managing—and living at the glebe house—the farm for him. With Richard lived Wright Marsh, his father, another brother of James, and, not being ratepayers, their names do not appear in the assessment.

Besides this John Marsh, James had a younger son called Thomas, who, married and living in Manchester, is also, like the above Richard and Wright Marsh, left out of the assessment.

Among the sons of this Thomas, William, the eldest, was brought up at Broadgate, and when his grandfather James died, about the year 1860, he succeeded him in the occupation of the farm until the old house, of rough stone walls and thatched roof, attached to it, becoming from age too dilapidated for habitation, he left it* to become the landlord of the Queen Ann Inn, Deane, the house from which his uncle, the above John Marsh, had, with his wife Mary and only son and child, James, retired some years before to live retired near to and in a cottage of his own.

Of this James and the other grandson, William, of James Marsh, we shall learn more later on.

Now let us refer to one more memorial of the Deane martyr—the oldest, and one of the few remaining relics of a byegone age of religious superstition, which may be the reason, probably, why Foxe, living at the time, is altogether silent about it.

Preserved in the memorable hall at Smithills, Roby, referring to it in his interesting Traditions of Lancashire, 1829, has, after alluding to the martyr's examination there, the following passages :

"Roger Winstone [Barton's prime minister, constable, and entrapper of heretics, as Roby calls him] and his crew were preparing to drag Marsh down stairs,† but the justice [Barton], hobbling on his crutch, preceded them, leaning on the arm of his priest.

"The party, on their entrance into the hall, found Marsh's two kinsmen [his brother Robert, and William Marsh] awaiting the event. They soon found that no favour was intended.

"'See to it, knaves,' bellowed the justice, 'that this fellow is delivered up to my lord at Lathom by to-morrow, or your own carcases shall answer for his.'

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* The farm land was then apportioned among the adjacent farms, and the house "tumbling in" soon after, some cottages, recently erected, now mark the spot, we believe, of the martyr's birthplace.

† He was examined in an upper room, called the green chamber.

"Then did these poor men pray and beseech their kinsman that he would in somewise conform to the religion of his superiors, or find some way of escape from a cruel and ignominious death.

"But Marsh, standing steadfast before them all, cried out with a loud voice, 'Between me and them let God witness!' Looking up to heaven, he exclaimed, as if with a sudden inspiration, 'If my cause be just, let this prayer of Thine unworthy servant be heard!' He stamped violently with his foot, and the impression of it, as the general notion is, yet remains to attest the purity of his cause and the cruelty and injustice of his persecutors.

"To this day may be seen the print of a man's foot in the stone, which by many is believed to exist as a memorial of his good confession.

"The stone was once removed for a frolic by two or three young men who lived in the house. Taking advantage of their parents' absence, they cast it into the glen behind the hall.

"The same night on retiring to rest, the inhabitants were disturbed by many strange and hideous noises; much alarm and inquiry excited, the offenders confessed, and the stone was restored to its place, with great reverence and solemnity.

"Some fragments that were broken off upon its removal were replaced; after which, according to common report, the noises ceased."

With the foregoing paragraph ends our account of the life and times of the Deane martyr, still, we think, it may be desirable to extend our notes on Queen Mary's reign to 1558, the year of her death.

Proceeding, we learn from Froude that "about the 20th of April [four days before Marsh's martyrdom], she withdrew to Hampton Court for entire quiet. The rockers and the nurses were in readiness, and a cradle stood open to receive the royal infant.

"Priests and bishops sang litanies through the London streets; a procession of ecclesiastics, in cloth of gold and tissue, marched round Hampton Court Palace, headed by Philip in person; Gardiner walked at his side, while Mary gazed from a window.

"Not only was the child assuredly coming, but its sex was decided on, and circulars were drawn up and signed both by the king and queen, with blanks only for the month and the day, announcing to ministers of state, to ambassadors, and to foreign sovereigns, the birth of a prince.

"On the 30th, the happy moment was supposed to have arrived; a message was sent off to London, announcing the commencement of the pains. The bells were set ringing in all the churches; Te Deum was sung in St. Paul's; priests wrote sermons; bonfires were piled ready for lighting. The great bell of the cathedral was rung for the actual birth.

"But the pains passed off without result: and whispers began to be heard that there was, perhaps, a mistake of a more considerable kind. Mary, however, had herself no sort of misgiving. She assured her attendants that all was well, and that she felt the motion of her child. The physicians professed to be satisfied, and the priests were kept at work at the litanies. Up and down the streets they marched, through city and suburb, park and square. Surely, God would hear the cry of his people.

"Her women, however, understood her condition; she was sick of a mortal disease; but they durst not tell her; and she whose career had been pointed out to her by the legate [Pole] as especial and supernatural, looked only for supernatural causes of her present state.

"Throughout May she remained in her apartment waiting—waiting—in passionate restlessness. With stomach swollen, and features shrunk and haggard, she would sit upon the floor, with her knees drawn up to her face, in an agony of doubt.

"After the mysterious quickening on the legate's salutation, she could not doubt that her hopes had been at one time well founded; but for some fault, some error in herself, God had delayed the fulfilment of his promise.

"And what could that crime be? The accursed thing was still in the realm. She had been raised up, like the judges in Israel, for the extermination of God's enemies; and she had smitten but a few here and there, when, like the evil spirits, their name was legion."

"The queen said," Bishop Burnet tells us, "she could not be safely and happily delivered, nor could anything succeed prosperously with her, unless all the heretics in prison were burnt."

"On the 24th of May," continues Froude, "when her distraction was at its height, she wrote a circular to quicken the over-languid zeal of the bishops.

"Under the fresh impulse of this letter, fifty persons were put to death at the stake in the three ensuing months, all of them being distinguished by a uniformity of quiet heroism in the sufferers.

And the instinctive consciousness that truth was asserting itself in suffering, converted the natural emotion of horror into admiring pride.

"Yet, for the greater purpose of the court, the burnt-offerings were as ineffectual as the prayers of the priests. The queen was allowed to persuade herself that she had mistaken her time [of accouchement] by two months; and to this hope she clung herself, so long as hope could last; but among all other persons concerned scarcely one was any longer under a delusion.

"'If all goes well,' wrote Renard to the emperor, on the 27th of June, 'the state of feeling in the country will improve. If she is in error, I foresee convulsions and disturbances such as no pen can describe. The succession to the crown is so unfortunately hampered, that it must fall to Elizabeth, and with Elizabeth there will be a religious revolution. The clergy will be put down, and the Catholics persecuted. I know not whether the king's person is safe. Nothing is certain, and I am more bewildered than ever at the things which I see going on around me. There is neither government, nor justice, nor order; nothing but audacity and malice.'"

"The faint hopes which Renard expressed," continues Froude, "speedily vanished, and every one but the queen herself not only knew that she had no child at present, but that she never could have a child—that her days were numbered.

"Not, however, till the end of July could she part finally from her hopes. Then, at last, the glittering dream was lost for the waking truth; then at once from the imagination of herself as the virgin bride who was to bear a child for the recovery of a lost world, she was precipitated into the poor certainty that she was a blighted and dying woman. Sorrow was heaped on sorrow. Philip would stay with her no longer. His presence was required on the continent, where his father was about to anticipate the death which he knew to be near, and, after forty years of battling with the stormy waters, to collect himself for the last great change in the calm of a monastery in Spain.

"Philip concealed his intention [of leaving England] till it was betrayed by the departure of one Spanish nobleman after another. The queen became nervous and aggrieved, and at last he was forced to avow part of the truth.

"He told her that his father wanted to see him, but that his absence would not be extended beyond a fortnight or three weeks;

she should go with him to Dover, and, if she desired, she could wait there for his return.

"Her consent was obtained by the mild deceit, and it was considered afterwards that the journey to Dover might be too much for her, and the departing might take place at Greenwich.

"On the 26th of August the royal party came down the river in their barge, attended by the legate. They dined at Westminster on their way to Greenwich; and on the 28th Philip went, and the pair, who had been brought together with so much difficulty, separated after a little more than a year.

"Philip had left her with a promise to return, and the weeks went, and he did not come, and no longer spoke of coming. The abdication of the emperor* would keep him from her, at least, till the end of the winter. And news came soon which was harder still to bear; news that he, whom she had been taught to regard as made in the image of our Saviour, was unfaithful to his marriage vows; and his unhappy wife was forced to know that he preferred the society of abandoned women of the lowest class to hers.

"The French ambassador describes her as distracted with wretchedness, speaking to no one except the legate. The legate was her only comfort; the legate and the thing which she called religion.

"Deep in the hearts of both queen and cardinal lay the conviction that if she would please God she must avoid the sin of Saul. Saul had spared the Amalekites, and God had turned His face from him. God had greater enemies in England than the Amalekites.

"All evidence concurs to show that, after Philip's departure, Cardinal Pole was the single adviser on whom Mary relied now that Gardiner was dead.†

"Gardiner was jointly responsible for the commencement, but after the first executions he interfered no further; he died, and the bloody scenes continued.

"From the legate came the first edict for the episcopal inquisition; under the legate every bishop held his judicial commission.

"A commission was appointed by Pole on the 1st of September, consisting of Brookes, Holyman, and White, Bishops of Gloucester, Bristol, and Lincoln, to try Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer for obstinate heresy.

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* "Growing out of love with pomp and greatness," says another author.

† He died November 12th, 1555.

"On Saturday, the 7th of September, the commissioners took their places under the altar of St. Mary's Church, Oxford. Bishop Brookes sat as president; Doctors Story and Martin appeared as proctors for the queen.

"Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury," cried an officer of the court, "appear here and make answer to that which shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy; make answer to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing his holiness the pope."

Cranmer was brought in under the custody of the city guard, in a black gown tied with a leather belt, to which was fastened a Bible.

Approaching the bar, he bent his head and uncovered to Doctors Story and Martin, then put on his cap again and addressing the president, said:—

"My lord, I mean no contempt to your person, which I could have honoured as well as any of the others; but I have sworn never to admit the authority of the Bisbop of Rome in England, and I must keep my oath."

The president remonstrated with him, but without effect, and in reply to a series of questions, Cranmer said he had been twice married, once before and once after he was in orders. He admitted his writings upon the eucharist, he avowed the authorship of the catechism and of the articles, and these books he maintained and defended. The end was that he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days to answer to the charges which would there be laid against him. He was returned to prison, and kept there in strict confinement.

On the 30th of September, Ridley was led in for trial, and at the mention of the pope, he like Cranmer put on his cap, declining to acknowledge the bishops' authority, and refusing to take it off, it was removed by a beadle.

He was then charged with having denied transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, and was urged at length to recant and allowed the night to consider the matter.

Ridley withdrew, and Latimer, eighty years old, was then introduced dressed in a threadbare gown, and round his waist was a leather belt, to which was attached a Testament.

The charge and the result were the same as in Ridley's case; "bread was bread," said Latimer, "and wine was wine; there was

a change in the sacrament, it was true, but the change was not in the nature, but the dignity." He too was allowed the day to recant.

The next morning the court sat again, and, with the bishops, there were present the authorities of town and university, heads of houses, mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs. The prisoners were brought to the bar, when, still maintaining their opinions, sentence was pronounced upon them, as "heretics obstinate and incurable."

On the morning of the 16th of October, the day fixed for their execution, they were led outside the north wall of the city and there, in sight of Cranmer's prison, the two illustrious martyrs were placed back to back to the same stake, and a chain passed round their bodies. After which, the faggots were lighted.

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley," Latimer cried at the crackling of the flames; "play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

"In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum," cried Ridley. "Domine, recipe spiritum meum."

"O Father of Heaven," cried Latimer, on the other side, "receive my soul."

Latimer died first, bathing his hands and stroking his face in the flame as it blazed about him.

Ridley was less fortunate. He suffered longer, the thick wood at his feet burning slowly, charring his body under frightful tortures. "I cannot burn," he called; "Lord, have mercy on me; let the fire come to me; I cannot burn." New faggots were added, but it was not till a bystander lifted the pile with a hatchet, when a tongue of flame went leaping up into the air, that death relieved him of his terrible sufferings.

"The horrible sight," says Froude, "worked upon the beholders as it has worked since, and will work for ever, while the English nation survives."

And yet martyrdom "was often," he continues, "but a relief from more barbarous atrocities.

"In the sad winter months which were approaching, the poor men and women, who, untried and uncondemned, were crowded into the bishop's prisons, experienced such miseries as the very dogs could scarcely suffer and survive.

"They were beaten, they were starved, they were flung into dark foetid dens, where rotting straw was their bed, their feet were fettered in the stocks, and their clothes were their only covering,

while the wretches who died in their misery were flung out into the fields, where none might bury them.

"Lollard's Tower and Bonner's Coal-house were the chief scenes of barbarity. His brutality was notorious and unquestionable, and a published letter was addressed to him by a lady, in which he was called the 'common cut-throat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops in England.'

"'I am credibly informed,' said this person to him, 'that your lordship doth believe, and hath in secret said, there is no hell. The very papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Every child can call you by name, and say, "Bloody Bonner is Bishop of London." And every man hath it as perfect upon his fingers' ends, as his paternoster, how many you for your part have burned with fire and famished in prison this three-quarters of a year.

"'Though your lordship believe neither heaven nor hell, neither God nor devil, yet if your lordship love your own honesty, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning and murdering. Say not but a woman gave you warning. As for the obtaining your popish purpose in suppressing of the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as you do. You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.'"

Returning to Cranmer, the report of his examination at Oxford having been sent to Rome, he was on the 14th of December, having in the meantime shown no signs of giving way, declared by the pope "to be anathema, to be deprived of his office, and having been degraded, he was to be delivered over to the secular arm."

But it was not until the 14th of February, 1556, that Bonner and Thirlby were sent down to finish the work at Oxford.

The court sat this time in Christ Church Cathedral, and here Cranmer was brought to the bar to hear the papal sentence, after which he was formally arrayed in his robes, and when the decoration was completed, Bonner called out in exultation:

"This is the man that hath despised the pope's holiness, and now is judged by him," and other like expressions, until "Thirlby checked the insolence of his companion," says Froude. Then commenced the degradation of the archbishop.

"The robes," continues Froude, "were stripped off in the usual way. The hair was clipped. Bonner with his own hands scraped

the finger points which had been touched with the oil of consecration. 'Now are you lord no longer,' he said, when the ceremony was finished. 'All this needed not,' Cranmer answered; 'I had myself done with this gear long ago.'

"He was led off in a beadle's threadbare gown, and a tradesman's cap; and here for some important hours authentic account of him is lost."

Another writer, however, tells us that, "unhappily, his nerve was not equal to the trial, and he agreed to sign a recantation of his views; but when, in spite of this, his enemies still determined to burn him, he denounced his weakness, and plunged into the flames the unworthy hand which had been the instrument of his fall."

Returning to Froude, he says: "The hatred against him was confined to the court. Even among those who had the deepest distaste for his opinions, his character had won affection and respect, and when it was known that he was to be executed there was a widespread and profound emotion."

On Saturday, the 21st of March, 1556, the meek and good archbishop was led to the same spot where Latimer and Ridley had suffered.

"When he came to the stake, he first prayed," says Bishop Burnet, "and then undressed himself, and being tied to it, as the fire was kindling, he stretched forth his right hand towards the flame, never moving it, save that once he wiped his face with it, till it was burnt away; which was consumed before the fire reached his body.

"He expressed no disorder for the pain he was in, sometimes saying, 'That unworthy hand!' and oft crying out, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' He was soon after quite burnt, and it was no small matter of astonishment to find his heart entire, and not consumed among the ashes—a thing that, if it had fallen out in any of their church, the papists had made it a miracle.

"Thus did Thomas Cranmer end his days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was a man raised by God for great services; and well fitted for them. He was a man of great candour; he never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself in all conditions at the same rate. His last fall was the only blemish of his life; but he expiated it with a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom.

"He had been the chief advancer of the Reformation in his life; and God so ordered it, that his death should bear a proportion

to the former parts of his life, which was no small confirmation to all that received his doctrine, when they heard how constantly he had sealed it with his blood."

The day after Cranmer's execution, Pole was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and burning men and women continued as before. In April nine were burnt, says Bishop Burnet; in May nine more—two of them blind men, and one a cripple, a man aged sixty-eight; in June nineteen, of whom thirteen were burnt in one fire; in July three men, and also a mother with her two daughters. The latter three were burnt at the same stake; "and," says the bishop, "one of them a married woman, big with child, when she was in the fire, the violence of it bursting her belly, a boy fell out into the flame, that was snatched out of it by one that was more merciful than the rest. But, after they had a little consulted about it, the infant was thrown in again, and thus was literally baptized with fire.

"And thus went on this awful burning until the end of Queen Mary's reign."

Burning the living only did not, however, suffice; the dead bodies of Martin Bucer and Paulises Fagius, men of past renown—buried, the one in St. Mary's, the other in St. Michael's Church, Cambridge—were taken out of their graves, Feb. 6th, 1557, and carried in coffins to the market square, and there tied to stakes with many of their books and all were burnt together.

At Oxford, Peter Martyr's* wife lay buried near the sepulchre of the holy virgin St. Frideswide, in Christchurch Cathedral. She had been a nun and married contrary to her vow, therefore her body was to be taken up and buried in a dung-hill, as a person dying under excommunication.

This was accordingly done; "but," says Bishop Burnet, "her body was afterwards taken up again in Queen Elizabeth's time, and mixed with St. Frideswide's bones, that she might run the same fortune with her in all times coming."

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* Late Divinity Professor at Christchurch, now in exile at Zurick.

CHAPTER LVIII.

PEACE again broken between Spain and France, Queen Mary, to please her husband, and in defiance of the marriage settlement, plunged England, at this time, into war with the latter country, an event which led to the unfortunate loss of Calais, a fortress as dear to the English then as Gibraltar is to us to-day.

Philip finding it was not so easy, by letters or messages, to draw her into the war, came over himself on the 20th of March. They had not met each other since parting at Greenwich in August, 1555.

In the meantime Philip had become King of Spain, Charles V., his father, having abdicated in his favour, after forty years' reign, to become the inmate of a monastery, believing that "between the affairs of the world and the hour of death there ought to be some interval."

Observing, in September, 1558, the anniversary of his mother's death with an obit, that is, a religious ceremony for the dead, "Charles took a conceit," says Bishop Burnet, "that he would see an obit made for himself, and would have his own funeral rites performed; to which he came himself with the rest of the monks, and prayed most devoutly for the rest of his own soul, which set all the company on weeping. Two days after he sickened of a fever from which he never recovered."

Philip having obtained from the Queen and Parliament all he wanted, he once more bid her farewell, solemnly promising he would come back in a very short time. Mary accompanied him to Dover, and with burning tears she bid him a final adieu on the 6th of July, 1557, never to see him again.

Throughout the country the projected war with France was looked upon as nothing but a service to a foreign ruler. Nor was the kingdom in a position for war, all its strength having been, and continuing to be, wasted in internal convulsions.

After great trouble, Mary got together about five thousand men, who, imperfectly equipped and trained, were sent to Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, where Philip incorporated them with his own army of fifty thousand.

Philip now marched straightway upon St. Quentin, a French fortress, defended by a small garrison, to the rescue of which twenty thousand additional French troops were hurrying up from a distance. But coming unexpectedly into contact with Philip's greater force, these men fell into a panic, which ended in a complete rout, one fourth of them being killed or taken prisoners.

Greatly alarmed at the loss of St. Quentin, the King of France sent immediate orders to the Duke of Guise, who was commanding the bulk of his army in Italy, to return over the Alps to oppose the advance of Philip.

The duke, striding northward in forced marches, arrived at Paris in the beginning of December, ready to stem the advance of the Spanish army, but notwithstanding his brilliant victory at St. Quentin, Philip seemed afraid of moving forward.

And thus leaving him in the rear, the Duke of Guise, set his thoughts on Calais, and "on the 1st of January he came," says Bishop Burnet, "and sat down before it.

"The governor [of Calais] having but a small force within the forts, they were taken [by the duke] without opposition. Then the town being thus shut up, the enemy pressed it hard, and drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and castle were drained; and having prepared devices for their soldiers to pass them without sticking in the mire, they made the assault after they had opened a great breach by their ordnance. And when the sea was out others crossed on that side, and so carried the castle by storm, which the governor had looked on as impregnable, and so had brought his chief force to the defence of the town.

"Seeing the castle thus unexpectedly lost, he did all he could with his small force to regain it; but being still repulsed, and having lost two hundred of his best men, he was forced to surrender the place on the 7th of January [now 1558].

"Thus, in one week's time, and in winter, was so strong a town lost by the English, that had for many ages been in their hands. It was taken two hundred and ten years ago by Edward the Third after the battle of Cressy; and was still called the key of France as long as it continued in English hands. But now, in time of war, it was in as ill a condition as if they had been in the profoundest peace.

"The news of the loss of Calais filled England with great discontent. But that loss affected none so deeply as the queen

herself, who was so sensible of the dishonour of it, that she was much oppressed with melancholy, and was never cheerful after it.'

"The loss of Calais," says Froude, "had so humbled the nation in its own eyes, that it expected to be overrun with French armies in the approaching summer.

"The church had thriven under Mary's munificence, but every other interest had been recklessly sacrificed. The fortresses were without arms, the ships were unfit for service, the coast was defenceless."

Parliament met on the 20th of January, and on the 26th a committee, composed of thirty members of both Houses, met to consider the crisis. Philip, unable to prevent the catastrophe alone, proposed to take the field at once with a united army of English and Spaniards, to avenge it, and effect a recapture of Calais. The council replied, "the people have only in their heads the defence of the realm by land and sea."

"The nation was heavy at heart," continues Froude later on, "the black incubus of the priesthood sat upon it like a nightmare. The burnings had been suspended while Parliament was in session. On the 28th of March the work began again, and Cuthbert Simson, the minister of a Protestant congregation, was put to death in Smithfield, having been first racked to extort from him the names of his supporters."

Bishop Burnet, referring to Simson's martyrdom, tells us "he was put to much torture; he lay three hours upon the rack, to make him discover all those who met him in their private assemblies, but he would tell nothing."

Continued to within a week of the queen's death, thirty-eight more burnings took place this year, the last of them being three men and two women, burnt in sight of Canterbury Cathedral on the 10th of November, making in all two hundred and eighty-four burnt in Mary's reign, the bishop tells us.

"But," adds the bishop, "he that writ the preface to Bishop Ridley's book De Coena Domini, who is supposed to be Grindall, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, says that in the two first years of the queen's persecution, there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for religion; by which it seems Foxe, on whom I depended for the number, has come far short in his account."

Here a foot-note tells us, "Lord Burleigh, in his book, entitled 'The Executions for Treason,' says, there died by imprisonment,

torments, famine, and fire, near four hundred; on this we may depend."

"Precious in the sight of the Lord," the Bible tells us, "is the death of his saints," and, doubtless, like the saints of old, these heroic sufferers of Mary's reign earned for themselves the martyr's crown; and, by their fidelity, helped to secure for succeeding generations the priceless blessings of religious freedom.

They brought men back, from custom and tradition, to the authority of the teaching of Scripture, and overthrew the despotism which had made confession to a priest into a necessity of communion and salvation. And also delivered our religion from being a system of ceremonies which had come to be regarded as meritorious observances. For these inestimable benefits we can never be too grateful to them.

Burnt at the stake rather than abandon their religious opinions, it is difficult to realise the barbarity of the times which could countenance such public sacrifices.

And, referring to this, the Deane martyr, when undergoing examination at Lancaster Castle, "gave," says Baines, "the Earl of Derby the following well deserved reproof. 'It is strange that your lordship, being of the honourable Council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, should so soon after consent to put poor men to a shameful death for embracing the same religion.'"

While Froude, alluding to the leniency extended to the aristocracy, says that "although Pole and Mary could have laid their hands on earl and baron, knight and gentlemen, whose heresy was notorious, although in the queen's own guard there were many who never listened to a mass, they dared not strike where there was danger that they would be struck in return.

"They went out into the highways and hedges; they gathered up the lame, the halt, and the blind; they took the weaver from his loom, the carpenter from his workshop, the husbandman from his plough.

"They laid hands on maidens and boys who had never heard of any other religion than that which they were called on to abjure; old men tottering into the grave, and children whose lips could but just lisp the articles of their creed; and of these they made their burnt-offerings; with these they crowded their prisons, and when filth and famine killed them, they flung them out to rot.

"How long England would have endured the repetition of the spectacle is hard to say. Interference was impossible except by armed force; the country knew from the first that by the course of nature the period of cruelty must be a brief one; it knew that a successful rebellion is at best a calamity, and the bravest and wisest men would not injure an illustrious cause by conduct less than worthy of it, so long as endurance was possible.

"They had saved Elizabeth's life and Elizabeth's rights; and Elizabeth, when her time came, would deliver her subjects.

"The Catholics, therefore, were permitted to continue their cruelties till the cup of iniquity was full; till they had taught the educated laity of England to regard them with horror; and till the Romanist superstition had died, amidst the execrations of the people, of its own excess.

"Queen Mary ceased to breathe an hour before daylight on Thursday, the 17th of November, 1558."

Here let us refer back to one or two more incidents which occurred in this, the last year of the queen's reign.

"On the 28th of January complaint was made by Convocation," Bishop Burnet tells us, "of a want of priests to some of the cures; in order to remedy this, and to provide a supply for the smaller benefices, it was proposed:—

"That the bishops might have authority to unite small benefices, which the priest should serve by turns.

"That the parishioners of chapels of ease might be obliged to come to the parish church, till curates could be provided.

"That bishops might be authorized by the pope to ordain extra tempora [ten sees were vacant at this time].

"There was also some consideration had about the furnishing of arms; and a decree passed for the provision of them after the same rate that the laity had agreed to. But then the convocation was prorogued, first to the 11th of November, and then to the 17th, on which day the queen died.

"But now to open the state of the nation. Calais and the places about were lost, and the nation was so exhausted that the supporting the government was no easy thing."

France thought willing to listen to terms of peace, a treaty had been opened with her, but the queen's ambassadors finding there was no hope of the restoring of Calais, moved the council on the 8th of November to lay the matter before the Parliament.

"It was not thought convenient, however, to break it," says the bishop, "to the whole house; it was thought best to begin with the nobility, and some of the best and gravest sort.

"But before they made that step they thought it necessary to ask the queen's mind; she thought it was best to lay it first before the king [Philip].

"Upon which, they sent the ambassadors with a letter to the king, and resolved to stay till his answer came. They write that the queen was still sick and weak; they hoped for amendment, but they were driven to fear, and mistrust the worst."

Philip's answer was that he would make no peace unless the queen should be satisfied.

But seeing now that she was declining fast, he sent over the Duke of Feria to propose to the council a marriage between the Duke of Savoy, his friend, and the Lady Elizabeth, without any regard to the queen or the opposition she might make to it, and he ordered him to use all possible means to bring it to a conclusion.

The queen resented this highly, and when she saw it was designed to force her to it, she fell into an extreme melancholy. The privy council did not entertain the motion, and the queen dying in a few days, an end was put to it.

"The nation was now delivered from a severe and unhappy, though short reign, in which superstition and cruelty had the ascendant to such a degree that it does not appear that there was any one great or good design ever set on foot, either for the wealth or glory of the nation.

"The poor queen delivered herself up to her peevish and fretful humours, and to her confessor; and seemed to have no other thoughts but about the extirpation of heresy.

"God shortened the time of her reign for his elect's sake; and he seemed to have suffered popery to shew itself in its true and natural colours, all false and bloody, even in a female reign, from whence all mildness and gentleness might have been expected, to give this nation such an evident and demonstrative proof of the barbarous cruelty of that religion, as might raise a lasting abhorrence and detestation of it."

Three day's before the queen's death, "a lady-in-waiting carried," Froude tells us, "her last wishes to her successor [her sister Elizabeth]. They were the same which she had already mentioned to De Feria—that her debts should be paid, and that the

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Catholic religion might be maintained, with an additional request that her servants should be properly cared for.

"Then, taking leave of a world in which she had played so ill a part, she prepared with quiet piety, for the end.

"On the 16th, at midnight, she received the last rites of the church. Towards morning, as she was sinking, mass was said at her bedside. At the elevation of the Host, unable to speak or move, she fixed her eyes upon the body of her Lord; and as the words of the benediction were uttered, her head sunk, and she was gone.

"A few hours later, at Lambeth, Pole followed her, and the reign of the pope in England, and the reign of terror closed together.

"Mary had reigned little more than five years, and she descended into the grave amidst curses deeper than the acclamations which had welcomed her accession.

"In that brief time she had swathed her name in the horrid epithet which will cling to it for ever."

On the morning of her death, Parliament opened as usual, at eight, for the morning session, when a message from the Peers required the immediate presence of the Commons.

As they appeared at the bar, the chancellor, Archbishop Heath, of York, rose, and after he had referred to the death of the queen and to the lawful right and title of her sister Elizabeth to the succession of the crown, the Commons answered, "God save Queen Elizabeth! Long may she reign over us!"

"The bells," says Froude, "which six years before had rung in triumph for Mary's accession, now pealed as merrily for her death; the voices which had shouted themselves hoarse in execrations on Northumberland were now as loud in ecstasy that the miserable reign was at an end.

"Through the November day steeple answered steeple; the streets were spread with tables, and, as the twilight closed, blazed as before with bonfires.

"The black dominion of priests and priestcraft had rolled away like night before the coming of the dawn; Elizabeth, the people's idol, dear to them for her sister's hatred, the morning star of England's hope, was queen.

"Alone among the Catholic leaders, Reginald Pole shared the ineradicable suspicion with which Elizabeth had been regarded by her sister; but he was on his death-bed when Mary died.

"Among the last sounds which fell upon his ears must have been the bells of Westminster ringing the knell of the cause to which he had sacrificed his life; and before the evening he too had passed away, a blighted, broken-hearted man, detested by those whom he had laboured anxiously to serve.

"Singled out, in connection with Bonner, for the special aversion of the new queen, he was taken away in mercy to escape a second exile or the living death of the Tower."

On Sunday, the 20th of November, Elizabeth gave her first reception at Hatfield, where every statesman of any side or party had collected.

The oaths of allegiance were sworn, and after the queen had spoken a few words, the lords withdrew, except Pembroke, Clinton, Lord William Howard, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who remained in the hall. Also Sir Thomas Parry, who was admitted as controller of the household, and Sir William Cecil, chosen to be her secretary.

Two days later the court removed to London; "her sister's bishops came," says Froude, "to meet her at Highgate. They were admitted to kiss hands—all except one; but from Bonner's lips she shrank as if contaminated by their approach, and in that evidence of temper they read all their coming fate.

"Every hour brought with it some new indication that the moments were numbered of ecclesiastical dominion. Silently and swiftly the privy council was transformed; bigotted Catholics and Mary's personal friends withdrew or were removed, while the vacant places were filled by Bedford, Northampton, and the Puritan Sir Francis Knolles.

"The Archbishop of York ceased to be chancellor, Sir Nicholas Bacon [father of the more famous chancellor] was made lord keeper, and within a week or two the alterations were going on so fast that 'fathers did not know their children.'

"Notwithstanding some efforts to check their zeal, the London mob tore down the new crucifixes; priests if they showed in the streets were kicked in the kennels, and the Protestant clergy, coming forth out of their hiding places, began unpermittted to read the English services again.

"The bishops, distracted between fear and fury, knew not what to do or where to turn. Maurice Griffen, the Bishop of Rochester, died, and carried his mute appeal to a higher tribunal. The queen's almoner, Dr. Bill, had preached at St. Paul's Cross on the 20th, bidding the people be quiet and orderly.

"Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, he who burnt the bones of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, got possession of the pulpit the next Sunday, to rave mere treason, to be sent to the Tower for his violence, and to die like Griffen, a week or two later, either by grief or passion.

"The Catholics [looking for Philip's interference] clamoured that they were being betrayed by Spain, and De Feira could but write 'that his worst fears were confirmed; that he was himself a cipher; that Philip's voice had no more weight with the council than if he had never married into the realm.'"

CHAPTER LIX.

ON Sunday, the 15th of January, now 1559, the queen was crowned at Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was performed by Oglethorpe, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Archbishop of York, to whom fell the duty, Canterbury see being vacant, having refused to officiate. Most of the other bishops were, however, present.

Parliament met on the 23rd, and soon after the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity were passed, the latter ordering the second Prayer Book, which had been revised, to be used in all churches, and forbidding any other form of public worship, thus restoring the liturgy of Edward VI., administered in the most tolerant manner.

"Convocation had been," Froude tells us, "sitting by the side of Parliament. The clergy, with the bishops at their head, had drawn up a protest against the threatened changes, and in five articles had signified their adherence to the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, and to the established constitution of the church.

"The five articles were these:—

1. That the natural body and blood of Christ is really present in the sacrament by virtue of the words duly spoken by the priest.

2. That after consecration no other substance remains.

3. That the mass offered is a propitiatory sacrifice.

4. That Peter and Peter's successors are Christ's vicars, and supreme rulers in the church.

5. That the authority in all matters of faith and discipline belongs, and ought to belong, only to the pastors of the church. Strype's Annals, vol. 1.

"The Reformation was again the law of England. The liturgy was accepted gradually, without enthusiasm yet without opposition, and in places even with pleasure; but it was long before it came into general use," continues Froude later on.

"And out of 9,400 persons holding cures of souls, less than 200," he says, "refused to the last to comply with the statute, and resigned their livings; but several years passed before they could all be sworn.

"Meanwhile, the bishops were less fortunate. They were on the spot, to be bent or broken. On the 15th of May the whole body of the prelates, fourteen in number [many sees, however, were then

vacant], were called before the queen, and informed that they must swear allegiance or lose their seats.

"It was not now as when the oath was first offered, when More and Fisher chose the alternative of the scaffold. The long debate in Parliament had left no axe for any recusant now to dread.

"Even the murderous Bonner had no worse fate to fear than some 'room befitting his condition' in the Tower or the Marshalsea,* with the garden walls the limit of his exercise.

"The words of the oath were read over to them, and the Archbishop of York was first asked if he would swear. Instead of replying, he addressed Elizabeth with a haughty admonition to remember her duty, to follow in the steps of her blessed sister, who had brought back the country to the holy see, and to dread the curse which would follow if she dared to be disobedient.

"'I will answer you,' Elizabeth replied, 'in the words of Joshua. As Joshua said of himself and his—I and my realm will serve the Lord. My sister could not bind the realm, nor bind those who should come after her, to submit to a usurped authority. I take those who maintain here the Bishop of Rome, and his ambitious pretences, to be enemies to God and to me.' Strype, Annals, vol. 1, p. 207.

"The Archbishop and the rest were allowed time to consider their final answer."

But, when called upon again later on, all refused to take the oath but one, the Bishop of Llandaff, who had, it is said, changed his creed already four times.

Now placed under confinement, in conformity with one of the provisions of the statute, and their sees declared vacant, the bishops' places were filled chiefly by Protestant divines who had escaped Mary's persecution by becoming voluntary exiles, among them Mathew Parker, former chaplain to Anne Boleyn, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward Grindall, a quiet and pious Lutheran, who was now appointed Bishop of London, and became later on Archbishop of York, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the completion of all the changes, the whole of the Catholic bishops, with the exception of three of the most violent among them—Bonner of London, Watson of Lincoln, and White of Winchester—were let out of prison, and told that they would be no further molested.

* He died here in September, 1568.

"Thus the mighty change," says the National History of England, "which gave back to England once more and for ever the principles of the Reformation, was accomplished without violence and without the least amount of persecution. It was the greatest triumph yet celebrated by Protestantism."

In the summer of 1559 the queen appointed a general ecclesiastical visitation, to see that the Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer was being duly observed; and it was this commission that reported a mass book had been taken away from Deane Church, by a member of the Heaton family, since the queen's proceedings.

To this we have already alluded in our last paragraph to chapter xxv.; and now, having referred at some length to the life and times of the Deane martyr, and the latter part of Queen Mary's and the beginning of Elizabeth's reigns, we are again brought back to this incident, the last but one—and to this latter we will refer later on—of the records we find connected with the parish in Vicar Rothwell's time.

Now let us say that, besides the clergy who resigned their livings, there were, strange to say, Protestants who declined to be bound by the two Acts, and, separating themselves from the church, were fined and imprisoned.

Of these, the chief sect were Puritans, so named because they professed extraordinary purity in worship and conduct; and in time they became a very numerous and powerful religious body, as we shall find when we come to the time of Vicar Tilsley, one of the leading Presbyterians of his day.

The first embodiment of Puritan thought laid down the following views:—

"The civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters; he is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy.

"The church of Christ admits of no other government than that by presbyteries, namely, by the ministers, elders, and deacons.

"Each parish must have its own presbytery.

"The choice of ministers belongs, of necessity, to the people."

And "The names and authority of archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, and other titles and dignities of the like kind, should be altogether removed from the church."

Singularly, the Puritans did accomplish their ends, but the system proved wholly futile.

Their public preachings and private exhortations are, however,

alleged to have had, in the early days of the sect, a visible effect on the manners of the people. Green, page 427, says that:

"Of the popular tendencies of Puritanism, and great as were its faults, Puritanism may fairly claim to be the first political system which recognised the grandeur of the people as a whole."

"The age they lived in," Long tells us, in his Church Notes, vol. 2, p. 118, "was vicious in the extreme.

"The frivolity of the time was expressed in the silks and satins, frills and velvets, worn by gentlemen; while its graver vices were openly manifested by intemperance, evil speaking, and unchastity.

"The Puritans felt it incumbent upon them to dress in simple attire, of sombre hue, and crop their hair close, by way of contrast to the fashionable follies."

With regard to Roman Catholics, Baines, alluding to Lancashire, tells us "they multiplied; the mass was usually performed; priests were harboured; the Book of Common Prayer, and the service of the church established by law, were laid aside; many of the churches were shut up, and the cures were unsupplied, unless by the ejected Catholic priests."

In 1567 Elizabeth wrote to the Bishop of Chester a letter of remonstrance, reminding him of his duty and requiring its more vigilant performance, and calling upon him to visit Lancashire, and see to it that the church be provided with honest and learned curates.

Later on, her majesty's council wrote to the bishop complaining that many persons in the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire absented themselves from church, and requesting him to take measures to enforce their attendance.

To this his lordship replied that some of the gentry and others had promised to be more conformable in future, but that others had disregarded his admonitions; at the same time he enclosed a list certifying the names of those who promised to conform.

It was at this period that Vicar Rothwell's successor was appointed, he having died probably at a good old age, seeing that he had been vicar thirty-three years.

In his time the tithes of Deane and Eccles were farmed by Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Knight, on a lease granted to him by Queen Elizabeth in 1562.

Sir Gilbert was her majesty's attorney general, and in May, 1581, was appointed master of the rolls, and in 1585 he was elected one of the knights of the shire for the County Palatine of Lancaster (vide vol. 40, p. 654, Chetham Society).

Ince Hall, Wigan, was the ancient seat of this family.

DAVID DEE, 1575-93.

This vicar, who succeeded Mr. Rothwell, was appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and instituted October 12th, 1575.

Croston, in his edition of Baines, 1890, says :

"In the former editions of this work [one 1834, the other 1868], the name is incorrectly given as Dee ; in the Institution Book it is written Deerhurst ; but there can be little doubt that the real name of the vicar was Dewhurst."

Here Croston can hardly be said to have decided the matter, and we prefer to follow Baines.

Nor was Vicar Dee the only person bearing that surname favoured by Queen Elizabeth, for Baines tells us she made Dr. John Dee, a celebrated astrologer, warden of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, and is said to have manifested much interest in that astrologer's art.

As in Vicar Rothwell's time, so in that of Mr. Dee, the Catholics suffered much persecution. The penalty for saying mass was, in 1581, increased to 200 marks with one year's imprisonment, and a fine of £20 a month was inflicted for absence from church.

Priests acting as tutors in private families, without the approbation of the bishop, were liable to a year's imprisonment, and their employers to a fine of £10 per month ; while recusants—a term applied to those who refused communion with the Church of England, many of them, in Lancashire, leading Catholics—were placed in confinement, and subjected to heavy penalties.

In 1585 an Act was passed against Jesuits, seminary priests, which made it felony to harbour, and treason to communicate with, papal agents.

A list, dated September 10th, 1586, of Lancashire recusants and other religious criminals, found in Harl. MSS., cod. 360, has the following reference to Deane parish :—

"Bruton, a priest, remaining with the wife of Sir Thomas Gerrard's son, being a Fleming born, and a very great harbourer of the ill-affected gentlemen in these parts.—She remaineth for the most part at Checkerbent [a hamlet within three miles to the south-west of Deane]. Dyvers priests [also] harboured at the house of Ralphe Holme of Checkerbent.

"This appeareth by the presentment of the Vicar of Deane."

"Before the period of the Puritans," says Axon, in Lancashire Gleanings (1883), "the Sunday was not ranked higher in any marked degree than the other festivals of the church,

"In the early history of the drama the plays appear to have been acted upon Sundays only; after 1579 they were acted on Sundays and other days indiscriminately."

The players of the Earl of Derby repeatedly visited the mansions of Smithills and Gawthorp between 1586 and 1617.

Sir Richard Shuttleworth, Chief Justice of Chester, previously referred to, occupied Smithills Hall at this time.

He had married Margaret, the widow of Robert Barton, the late owner, and his own residence at Gawthorpe, near Burnley, having become much dilapidated, he made the mansion at Smithills his principal residence from 1582 to 1594. He died in 1599.

Sir Richard's brother, Thomas, also resided at the Hall, and acted as steward of the estates, farm bailiff, etc. Transcripts of the house and farm accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithills and Gawthorpe, for the period named, appear in Chetham Society's vol. 35 (1856), and form interesting reading. Many of the payments relate to Deane Church and parish, and from them we extract the following:—

"Marche 1583. The parish clerke of the Deane Church for his ottes [oats] which he usethe to gather, iiij."

"April 1583. The procter of Deane Churche for teithes belonging to the Smithills xij^{s}; three pekes of whette vj^{s}; given to the vicar of Dane Church ij.; tene chickens xx^{d}; for the houshynge [sacrament] of seven p'sonnes and spente at the same time x$^{d.}$"

"August 1583. The clarke of the Dene Churche the rente of Auguste for his Wyeges xij$^{d.}$"

"April 1584. Unto the procter of the Dene Churche the xvijth daye of Aprill for the tiethes belonging to the Smithelles xij$^{s.}$"

"March 1585. Tablynge of Roberte Ashedene a fortenyghte when he was a the threshinge of the tythe corne which lay at Grundies in Middle Hulton iij^{s} iij$^{d.}$"

An undated payment, later on, says:

"The clarke of the Dane Church xij$^{d.}$"

Like payments recur at intervals, which we need not repeat.

"April 1586. Payed the furste daye of Aprill unto Artheure Cramton, setling for the procter of the Dane Churche, for all the tythes of the demesne of Smithells which was due at Aster next comynge, xii$^{s.}$"

"June 1586. A guld [tax] which was laid towardes repereyng of the Dayene Churche and dyvers other things." The amount paid is not stated.

The next entry refers to Halliwell, viz., "The constable of Holywell for a fifftene granted to hur majestie xviij$^{d.}$"

"Sep. 1586. Unto Arthur Cramtone to the jusse [use] of Sr Gilberte Garrard for the tythes of Hiltone and Hetone the xxviijth daye of September the somme of viij^{l} ij^{s} viij$^{d.}$"

"Feb. 1587. Oomfraye Marshe [Marsh] for puttynge in the shoulder of a cowe which was out of gonte [joint]."

Unto a mayed [maid] which brought fisshe from Mr. Hydletones [Hulton] of the Park viij$^{d.}$"

"May 1587. John Fishe for hevynge of colles [coals] in Egberden [Egbert's dene] thrie [three] dayes x$^{d.}$"

"[March 1588.] A lade [lad] which broughte a tenche frome Mr. Hilton's of the Park iij^{d}; given to the vicar when he mynestrade the communyone at Smithells ij$^{s.}$"

"April 1588. Arthere Cramton, servente unto Sir Gilberte Garrard, Knighte, farmer of Smithells lying within Haleywall xij$^{s.}$ A fatte muttone [a sheep] x^{s}; a fatte lame [lamb] iiij^{d}; a quarter of velle iij$^{s.}$"

"[Sep. 1588.] To the clarke of the Dene Church for his wyeges xij$^{d.}$ Payed for colle [coal] at Hulton delffe xij$^{s.}$"

"April 1589. The vicar of the Deane for his panes for mynesteringe the sakeremente at Smytheles xij$^{d.}$" (Like entries frequently recur.)

"April 1595. To a wentche which broughte twoe tenches from Mr. Hilton's of Pke. iij$^{d.}$"

"April 1599. Given to a boey [boy] that brought a tench from Mr. Hilton of the Pke. iij$^{d.}$ Mr. Vicar of Deane, for his panes in the Passion Weeke when my Mr. dyd [did] receive [the sacrament] ij^{s} vj."

"March 1591. The fourthe parte of a fiftene in Hollywell for oxe money for her majestie's provision vj$^{d.}$"

"A fiftene unto the churche master of the Deane Churche for to bye twoe surplessies and a [communion] table clothe xviij$^{d.}$"

"March 1592. Given by my brother's appointemente unto the vicar and the clarke of the Deane Churche ij^{s} vj$^{d.}$"

"[Sep. 1594.] To the churche wardens of Deane for ye reparacon of the churche there viij$^{d.}$"

"[May 1595.] Twelve lode of coles fetche from Mr. Hilton's dealffe xij^{s}."

We have alluded, in Vicar Rothwell's time, to the grave vices which prevailed in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Let us now turn for a moment to the death-bed confession of one who previously lamented his past sad profligate life, and died in Vicar Dee's time.

He was one of the earliest dramatists of the queen's reign, and named Greene, like the historian from whose work we extract the story, namely :—

"There were three other such dramatists living at the same period [1558], and for the most part poor, and reckless in their poverty; wild livers, defiant of their day, atheists in general report, holding Moses for a juggler, haunting the brothel and the alehouse, and dying starved or in the tavern brawls.

"Of Greene, as the creator of our lighter English prose, we have already spoken, but his work as a poet was of yet greater importance.

"He left Cambridge to travel through Italy and Spain, and to bring back the debauchery of the one and the scepticism of the other.

"In the words of remorse he wrote before his death he paints himself as a drunkard and a roysterer, winning money only by ceaseless pamphlets and plays to waste it in wine, and drinking the cup of life to the dregs.

"Hell and the afterworld were the butts of his ceaseless mockery.

"If he had not feared the judges of the Queen's Court more than he feared God, he said in bitter jest, he should often have turned cutpurse.

"He married, and loved his wife, but she was soon deserted; and the wretched profligate found himself again plunged into excesses which he loathed, though he could not live without them.

"But wild as was the life of Greene, his pen was pure. He is steadily on virtue's side in the love pamphlets and novelettes he poured out in endless succession, and whose plots were dramatised by the school which gathered round him.

"Greene [in 1593] died in poverty and self-reproach in the house of a poor shoemaker. 'Doll,' he wrote to the wife he had abandoned, 'I charge thee by the love of our youth, and by my

soul's rest, that thou wilt see this poor man paid; for if he and his wife had not succoured me, I had died in the streets.'

"'Oh! that a year were granted me to live!' cried the young poet from his bed of death: 'but I must die of every man abhorred. Time loosely spent will not again be won! My time is loosely spent, and I undone.'"

What can be more touching than this humble and sincere confession of the poet's life? And what a warning to us is the epitaph he left behind him:

> "Time loosely spent will not again be won!
> My time is loosely spent, and I undone."

CHAPTER LX.

IN deep contrast to the death-bed scene of poor Greene, we have, strange to say, before us, as we pen the foregoing, the record, though brief, of the last but happier days of one who, like the poet, died in Vicar Dee's time; but "by course of nature," and unknown to history, yet with that Christian resignation which overcomes all difficulties and brings peace at the last.

Calmly foreseeing his end approaching, this aged man, 326 years ago, wisely set about arranging his family affairs; and, while thoughtfully disposing of his worldly goods, hopefully committed his "soul into the hands of God, trusting to be saved by the death and passion of Christ."

The beautiful words here quoted appear in the will of Ralph Crompton, a native of Rumworth, made in 1577, and preserved in the Probate Registry at Chester, where it was proved in April, 1578.

Of the will, which is quaintly worded, and interesting in other respects, we append a transcript:

"In the Name of God Amen 1577 and the xviii. daye of January I Raffe Crompton of Romwourth sick in body and hoole of mynd and of good and pfct memory fearing death by course of nature do ordayne this my last Will and Testament in maner and fourme as hereafter foloweth Fyrst I comitt and betake my soule into the hands of God trusting to be saved by the death and passion of Chryst and my body to the earth where y^{t} was made and the same to be buryed in my p'rshe church yard of Deane It y^{s} my wyll that my goodes be devyded into iii pts one to myselfe the second to myself and the thyrd to my chyldren yt y^{s} to say to Arthur Crompton Ryc. Crompton Kathryn Crompton my only begotton daughter the reversion of my goods leaft over my fourth bringing my debts and legacies dyscharged and pay^{d} I give y^{t} equally betweene Mary my wyff and Rychard my son and that said revrsion of my pt my wyll further is the same to be put fourth by Arthure Crompton and James Edge to thyrs or hys most pfet and yf Mary desire to have hyr pt of my revrsion then I wyll that shee so have yt to bestoe as shee shall thynke convenient and most neede but I wyll that Arthur Crompton and James Edge to have the using of Rychards pt of my revrsion to hys most pfet they shall be best able to occupye the same hymselff. I make and appoynt Mary

Crompton my wyff and Arthurė Crompton my son my true and faythfull executors to see yt thys my last Will be executed and fulfylled according to the true meaning hereof. I desyre Arthure Crompton and James Edge to be the ov^{r}syers of this my last Wyll and also to put theyre helping hands towards the gatheringe in of suche goodes as bye fourthe of my hand as I have specialtyes in wryting alsoe. The interest of my house my good wy^{l} thereof I give to Mary my wyffe and Arthur my son desiring my M^{r} for God hys sake to be good M^{r} unto them.

"Debts owinge unto me the testator:

John Hugheson vi^{li} vi^{s} v^{d}
James Houlden of the Wyndygates of lent money xx^{s}
Thomas Hugheson xx^{s}
Robart Marshe of Hallywall xl^{s}
Wyelum Carlell x^{s}
Rychard Edge x^{s}
Raffe Edge iiii^{s}
James Grundy of the Chiphil vii^{s} iiii^{d}
James wyffe Rigbye xx^{s}
Hughe Rigbye vii^{s} vi^{d}
Robt Torner of Lostocke ii^{s} ix^{d}
Rogger Torner of O^{v} hulton vi^{s} i^{d}

"Theysse are the wytnesses of this wyll:—Henry Telyer, Robart Bordman, James Pendleburie,* Durat [living] at Deane.

"Detts owing unto me ye testator:

The wyffe of Arthur Houlme vi^{s} xi^{d}
Edward Houlme xiii^{s} x^{d}
Gyles Acton xiii^{s} x^{d}
James Houlme vii^{s} viii^{d}
Wyllam Hulton of Boulton vi^{s} vi^{d}
The wyffe of Rychard Craven and Ellyn Mather iii^{s} i^{d}
Rychard Mather iii^{s} i^{d}
James Pendlebury xiii^{s}
Adam Pendlebury viii^{s}
Wyllyum Sharples aliter Ackynson xx^{d}
Henry Braben viii^{d}
Thomas Marecroft x^{d}
John Lyre iii^{s}
Robt Bordman xxviii^{s}

* Probably the curate at Deane at this time, as will appear later on.

The wyffe of John Bordman and Wyllyum Bordman his son iii^{s} vii^{d}
The wyffe of Raffe Sharples and Wyllyum his son of lent money xv^{s} viii^{d}
Attywell Fayrehurst iii^{s} vii^{s}
Robt Gregson ii^{s} vi^{d}
The wyffe of John Wylluemson iii^{s}
James Hart xii^{s}
Edward Houlme iiii^{s} viii^{d}
Wyllyum Draper of Boulton x^{s}
Rogger Garnet xx^{s}
James Grundy Juniorxx^{s}
The wyffe of Denys Grundye xx^{s}

"Thys ys the true inventory of all the goods & chattels moveable and unmoveable of Raffe Crompton of Romworth that he was possessed of at the day and houre of hys death praysed by us iiii [four] men that ys to say Rogger Garnet Robt Hallywall Adam Pendlebury and Richard Mather the xxiii day of January 1577:

One fatt cowe the pr iii^{li} iii^{s} iiii^{d}
Three kyne the pr v^{li} xv^{s}
Two twynter heffers ye pr l^{s}
One mare ye pr xx^{s}
One fole the pr x^{s}
Syeteene sheepe the pr xlviii^{s}
Corne and hee the pr xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Pewter and brasse ye pr iiii^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
In bedding the pr iiii^{li} viii^{s} iiii^{d}
In arckes and cowffers iii^{li} x^{s}
In lynnen cloth and yarn the pr xliii^{s}
Too stonn of woole the pr x^{s}
One irne chimney wt all other irne stuff xx^{s}
Hys shapen clothes the pr xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
One haeff of a cow hyde v^{s}
Cart and payre of whyles one harrow the pr vi^{s} viii^{d}
Bedds bedstockes cheres one turnell too salting tubbs stoonds ale potts w^{t} other huslement of house the pr xxi^{s}

"Debts owing unto the testator as appeareth by obligations and bills of theyse p'sons here under subscribed:

Raffe Sharples and Wyllyum Sharples alias Ackinson xii^{li} iii^{s} iiii^{d}

James Grundy of the Chiphill xi^{li} xii^{s} iiii^{d}
John Wyelyamson vii^{li}
Hugh Rigbie vii^{li} xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
Robt Hallywall iiii^{li}
James wyffe Rigbie xxxiii^{s} iiii^{d}
James Hooghe alias Cooke xxx^{s}
Alexander Mason and Robert his son xv^{s} viii^{d}

"Proved in the Consistory Court at Chester on the 8th April 1578."

In 1590, Lostock Hall, a little over two miles to the west of Deane, is said to have been built by Christopher Anderton.

Lawrence Anderton, third son of Anderton of Anderton, Esq., settled here the previous century, and his descendants remained in possession of the estate until its confiscation by Sir Francis Anderton, the sixth and last baronet. He died in 1760 issueless.

The tower, now occupied by a private family, still remains, but the hall itself has almost disappeared.

Describing the tower in 1855, Whittle, the historian of Bolton, says: "It is built of stone and brick, stone mouldings and Dutch string-courses, and has seven oblong windows finely mullioned in seven beys.

"Under the entablature the royal arms of England occur, with the label 'Elizabetha, 1590.'

"The hall part has been dismantled, and the present farm-house is a part of the domestic apartments.

"There is a stone coffin filled with water, which had a coverlet, or slab, with an inscription upon it. This was removed to Warrington many years ago.

"The last of the Andertons was a Catholic priest, and through his celibacy the honours of the family became extinct."

The historian errs somewhat here. The priest, Lawrence Anderton, had a younger brother, Francis, who, on the death of their father, inherited the title and the estate, Lawrence being disqualified.

Eventually, however, the manor of Lostock, with the hall, became the property of the crown, by reason of the attainder of this Sir Francis Anderton, during his lifetime, or until he should have a child born.

Lostock Hall.

Sir Francis was then a widower over sixty, and in 1760 he died, as already stated, issueless, the sixth and last Baronet of Lostock.

Up to his time the Andertons of Lostock had been the impropriators of the tithes of Deane for many generations, as we shall learn in due course.

In 1592, the Bishop of Chester visited the deanery of Manchester, and in his visitation books, preserved at the Diocesan Registry at Chester, he refers to Deane as follows :—

"The catechising [of children] neglected bie the curate and parishioners.

"No perambulations [of the parish].

"Noe monitions given for choice of collectors [for the poor] according to statue, etc.

"The curate appeared and the judge enjoined him diligentlie to catecheize hereafter, to goe the perambulations, and to publish for collectors upon the Sondaie nexte before Midsummer Day, annually according to statue, etc.

"Henry Cowper, one of the wardens appeared, and the judge enjoyed him to walke the perambulations annually, and to provide special collectors for the poor, and to levy xii^{d} of those who absent themselves on Sundays and feast days, under pain, etc.

"Margaret Hilton, and Cuthbert Hilton, her son ; Mary Hilton, gentle-woman, and Elizabeth Hilton, her daughter, recusants, were encommunicated."

This last paragraph evidently refers to two families of Hilton, and probably one of them is referred to in the following quaint inscription, the oldest found upon any tombstone in the churchyard :

E
H H
1608
JOHN HILTON 2B
JAMES HILTON

In 1593 Vicar Dee was succeeded by Mr. Clegge, but whether owing to death, or otherwise, does not appear.

LANCELOT CLEGGE, 1593–1636.

Vicar Clegge was, like Mr. Dee, appointed by Queen Elizabeth, and was instituted March 31st, 1593.

He held the living forty-three years, the longest of any vicar save one—James Rothwell—an eventful period, covering as it does the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign, the twenty-two years' reign of James the First, and the first eleven years of the reign of his son, Charles the First.

On the 10th of June, 1594, the year after Vicar Clegge's appointment, we find the Bishop of Chester instituting the Rev. John Allright, M.A., to the vicarage of Bolton.

Not being able to attend personally before the bishop, to accept of the living, Mr. Allright appointed, on the 15th of the same month, "his dearest in Christ, James Pendleburie, clerk, Vicar of Deane, and Hamlet Percevall, clerk, Curate of Hollinfare, to act in his place and name, to accept real, actual and bodily possession of, and in, the same vicarage, according to the requirement of the law, according to the form, effect, and true sense of the said letters patent, in as full manner and form as I myself could personally make, often as I should attend," etc. Vide Scholes' Bolton, 1882.

This is very interesting, but, as Mr. Clegge was vicar at this time, the document evidently errs in describing Mr Pendlebury vicar, instead of curate, of Deane.

Later on, 1598, we find Curate Pendleburie, or, as now written, Pendlebury, defendant in a lawsuit charging him with having falsified the parish register at Deane Church.

Preserved in the Record Office among the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings—Elizabeth, vol. 206, page 18—the documents referring to the case are somewhat lengthy, and from them we gather the following particulars:—

The first of the documents is addressed to The Right Honourable Sir Robert Cecill, Knight, principal secretary to the queen's most excellent majesty and chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and in the left hand corner is endorsed "Brought in 24th Oct. 1598."

Proceeding, the Curate of Deane is charged by James Worthington, of Snydle, in Westhoughton, and Anne his wife, with having altered "the register or church book at Deane, to suppress the truth thereof.

"That is to say, the said Anne was christened on Easter Day in the year 1580, and so written in the said church book, the said James Pendlebury hath since falsely and untruely made and written

down the name of the said Anne to be baptized in the year of our Lord God 1578, to the end to make her, the said Anne, to show or seem to be, two years older in truth than she is, to the utter undoing and disinherison of the aforesaid Anne and her heirs for ever," etc.

We are next told that Anne's father, Adam Eccleston of Eccleston, a township in Prestcot parish, "by his good and sufficient conveyance and assurance in law, did heretofore convey and assure the moiety of the manor of Eccleston.

"And also the moiety of divers other manors, messuages, lands, and tenements, etc., in the County of Lancaster, being of very good value and being the moiety of the residue of the said lands of the said Eccleston, to the use of himself for life without impeachment of waste, the remainder to the first son of the said Adam, lawfully begotten, to and for eight sons more of the said Adam lawfully begotten, and to the heirs of the body of every such son, lawfully begotten, and for want of such issue to nine daughters of the said Adam, lawfully begotten, and to the heirs of their bodies, the remainder to the said Anne Worthington and to the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten," etc.

"Which said Anne is an infant within the age of one and twenty years, that is to say of the age of eighteen years or there abouts and not above.

"And where afterwards, that is to wit since the making the said conveyance, the said Adam Eccleston through sickness and other infirmities hath been procured by Robert Dewhurst and others by divers unlawful pretences and for small or no considerations at all, to convey away the premises to persons unknown and to disinherit and dispose himself of all his lands and goods, amounting in the whole to the value of £20,000, or above, contrary to the aforesaid former conveyance."

Here the document goes on to say that since this latter conveyance James Worthington has been "forced by means of the persons aforesaid, against his mind and utterly without the privity, consent, or good liking of the said Anne, his wife, to enter into bond in £400 to Richard Houghton, Esquire, in or about Lent last, with the condition that he and his wife Anne should within one year then next following levy a fine of all their right and title to the foresaid lands and premises to the said Richard Houghton and his heirs, the said Anne then and yet living an infant under the age of twenty and one year.

"But now the aforesaid Robert Dewhurst, together with one Thomas Heaton and others, contriving in their evil minds and purposes towards your orators, have now of late practised with one James Pendleburie, clerk, and minister of the church of the parish of Deane, where the said Anne was baptized, to falsify the register or church book," etc.

And so the plaintiffs pray that "her majesty may grant her most gracious process of privy seal to be directed to the said James Pendleburie, clerk, commanding him to appear before your honour [the chancellor] in her majesty's Court of Duchy Chamber at Westminster to answer the premises."

Now let us turn to Curate Pendlebury's answer, made through his lawyer, "Phil. Gerrard," as follows :—

"The answer of James Pendleburie, clerk, deft. to the Bill of Compl't of James Worthington, gentleman, and Anne his wife.

"The said deft., not confessing any material thinge in the sayd Bill of Complt. against him to be true, by protection sayth that the sayd Bill is very uncerteyne and insufficient in the lawe to be answered unto; and the matters therein conteyned, devised, and contrived, by the sayd complaints, rather to put the deft. to charge than uppon any just cause or good ground of sute."

And, after traversing all the ground covered by the plaintiff's document, the lawyer at last tells us that :

"As concerneth him [the curate] the deft. for playne declaracon of the truth sayth that he hath not by the procurement of all or any other person in the sayd Bill of Complt. falsely or untruly made or written downe the name of the sayd Anne in the year of our Lord God 1578 as in and by the sayd Bill is most falsely, slanderously and untruely pretended.

"And this deft. is ready to averre, maynteyne and prove as this honourable court shall award, and prayeth to be dismissed forth of the same, with his reasonable costes and charges in this behalfe most wrongfully susteyned.

"Phil. Gerrard."

How the case terminated we are unable to say, no further documents referring to it appearing.

Apart from their age, these documents are interesting as bringing to light a "Register, or Church Book," hitherto unknown, and in use at least sixty years before the present registers of the parish, dating from 1637, were commenced.

The book was also in use many years before the registers at Bolton were begun, as the following entry, the first one found in them, and recording, singular to say, the marriage of a Deane lady with a Bolton gentleman, will show :—

"Feb. 5th, 1597—James Crompton of Bolton
and
Dorothy Dudson of Deane."

Returning to the curate, in "The Probate and Administration Act Books" at Chester we find him again referred to as follows :—

"Feb. 3rd, 1597-8. Tuition of Roger Culcheth, son of John Culcheth of Abram [in Wigan Parish] deceased, granted to Gilbert Platt of Abram, before James Pendleburie, Curate of Deane." Lanc. and Ches. Hist. Notes, vol. 3, p. 6.

CHAPTER LXI.

IT was about this time that churchwardens were first allowed to ask voluntary alms, and afterwards to levy a compulsory rate, for the relief of the destitute poor in each parish, hitherto uncared for since the monasteries were disestablished.

In 1601 an Act was passed by which the maintenance of the impotent poor, and the setting the able-bodied to work in work-houses, was entrusted to regular guardians in each parish.

No occasion offering, we have not referred to the tithes of Deane for some time. Now, 1602, we find Queen Elizabeth granting them to James Anderton of Lostock for the term of three lives, in place of Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Knt., deceased, who had farmed them since 1562.

The lease affords interesting reading, and we append extracts from it, as follow :—

"Lease by the Queen to James Anderton of Lostock, co. Lancaster, Esquire, for a fine of 40^s (by the advice of the Treasurer of England, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Edward Coke, Esquire, Attorney General), of all that our Rectory and Church of Eccles and all that our Chapel of Deane, with all their rights, members, and appurtenances in our County of Lancaster, formerly belonging and appertaining to the monastery of Whalley in the same County, and formerly being parcel of the possessions thereof. And all houses, gardens, glebe lands, tithes, great and small oblations, etc., belonging to the said Rectory and Chapel. Except woods, wardships, mines, and quarries. To hold for term of the lives of Gilbert Gerrard, son of Sir Thomas Gerrard, Gilbert Houghton, son of Sir Richard Houghton, and Thomas Gerrard, son of Ratcliffe Gerrard, Esquire, or the life of either of them. Rendering yearly 88^l 5^s 3^d at the Exchequer, besides 18^l for the pension or stipend of the Vicar of Eccles, and 12^l for that of the Vicar of Deane, newly assigned, and also 8^l after each of the deaths of the said Gilbert Gerrard, Gilbert Houghton, and Thomas Gerrard.

"Lessee to repair hedges, ditches, enclosures, shores, banks, sea-walls, etc., except the repair of the Church and Chancel of Eccles, to have timber for repairs, etc. Dated 3rd June [1602]." Patent Roll, 44 Elizabeth, pt. 4, m. 31.

It is pleasing to see here the stipend of Deane increased to £12, hitherto so small as £4.

James Anderton, the new lessor of the tithes, was evidently the son of Christopher Anderton, living in 1590, as appears by the subjoined extract from a grant made by father and son to Savoy Hospital, London :—

"In that year Christopher Anderton, Esq., and James Anderton, his son and heir apparent, by their indenture dated 5 May, 33 Eliz. [1590], granted to the Master and perpetual Chaplains of the above Hospital an annuity or yearly rent of £6 13s. 4d., issuing of the Manor of Rumworth, with the appurtenances, to have and to hold to the said Master and perpetual Chaplains and their successors for ever, payable at Michaelmas and the Annunciation, by equal proportions." Vide Record Society, vol. 24. p. 36.

Vicar Clegge had been at Deane ten years when Queen Elizabeth died, in 1603, and James I., succeeding her, came to the throne.

King James was the fifth royal patron of the living of Deane. He was the son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley. As James VI. he had been king of Scotland since his mother, compelled by her nobles, resigned the Scottish crown to him, in 1566, he being then an infant one year old.

As the great-grandson of Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., he, for the first time in history, united Scotland and England under one sovereign.

The Catholics had expected great indulgence from the king for his mother's sake, who had belonged to their religion. He adhered, however, to the religious settlement of England, and to this disappointment is due, it is said, the infamous Gunpowder Plot.

Soon after the king's accession to the throne, the Puritan clergy within the Church of England petitioned his majesty for liberty to dispense with the surplice, and for the removal of certain abuses of patronage, non-residence, pluralities, and discipline; they also pleaded for a revision of the liturgy.

But, says Collier, "the king's liking for the episcopal form of worship appeared most strongly at a conference held in [January] 1604 at Hampton Court, between the leading men of the two great Protestant parties.

"James, vain of his theological learning, joined in the discussion, and met all the reasonings of the Puritan ministers with his favourite expression—'No bishop, no king.'"

From Long's Church Notes we learn that "King James closed the Hampton Court conference with this parting threat to the

Puritans: 'I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land.'"

Consequently many of the ministers who refused subscription to the Acts of Uniformity or canons ecclesiastical, and were deprived, together with numerous upholders who declined to attend the parish church, found a home elsewhere, at first in Holland, and afterwards beyond the Atlantic.

Ransome, in his "Short History of England," states that in 1608 a body of Nottinghamshire Independents left England, and settled at the town of Leyden, in Holland.

"After a time they thought they would prefer a country life, and [returning to England] in 1620 they sailed thence to America in the Mayflower, and called the place where they landed New Plymouth [after the port from which they had sailed]. This land was situated in a temperate climate like that of England."

And the little band of "Pilgrim Fathers," as their successors loved to call them, became the nucleus of what are now the New England States of America.

From 1607 to 1610 forty-seven ministers were, by the king's command, engaged in the work of a new translation of the Bible.

The excellence of the translation is universally acknowledged, and, published in 1611, is known to us as the Authorised Version of the Bible, and is still used alike by Churchmen and Nonconformists as the pure word of God.

In 1610 King James granted the tithes and glebe lands of Deane and Eccles to Francis Morrill and Francis Philips, of London, the well-known traffickers in church spoils, their heirs and assigns, for ever, at the yearly rent or value of £88 5s. 3d., over and besides £16 13s. 4d. to the Vicar of Eccles, and £10 to the Vicar of Deane for their stipends and those of their successors, and the rights of patronage.

The following year we find Morrill and Philips conveying their interest in this grant to Downes and Mosley for the sum of £1,440, acting for and on behalf of James Anderton of Lostock, to whom and his heirs the grant was then made over, subject to the same right of nomination and farm rent to the crown, and stipends to the Vicars of Eccles and Deane as previously enumerated. Vide Patent Roll, 7 James I., part 22, No. 1.

In 1613 James' daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Frederick, Elector Palatinate of the Rhine, a Protestant German prince.

It was their son, Prince Rupert, who, with Lord Derby and an army of 10,000 men, assembled on Deane Moor in the time of the great Civil War, to take Bolton by storm, then held by the Parliamentarians.

"During James' reign," says Collier, "began that contest with the Parliament which forms the leading feature of the period, and which ended in the dethronement of his son, Charles I.

"The great abuses complained of by the Commons were the old evil 'purveyance' and the sale of monopolies, by which the trade of the entire country was placed in the hands of about two hundred persons.

"The check exercised by the Commons over the king lay in their power of giving or withholding supplies of money; but when they applied this check, he strove to invent new ways of filling his purse."

Ransome says: "James' most serious violation of the law was in respect of taxation.

"His main sources of income were the crown lands, the feudal dues, and tonnage and poundage, which were granted to him for life.

"Tonnage meant a tax of from 1/6 to 3/- levied on each tun of wine or liquor coming into or going out of the kingdom, and poundage a similar tax of 6d. to 1/- on every pound of dry goods.

"James claimed to alter these rates as he chose, and the additions he made in 1608 were called The Impositions. The Commons never ceased to protest against the Impositions, which infringed their right to control taxation."

Hitherto without a national school at Deane, a member of the Marsh family leaves, at this time, £10 towards the providing of one.

"I give," says this Giles Marsh, in his will dated September 9th, 1615, "towards the procuring of a yearly stipend for ever at the Deane Church, for a school, the sum of £10, desiring Mr. Barton [of Smithills Hall probably] and the rest of the worships [magistrates] in the said parish to labour for a free school there."

Giles died soon after making this will, and in 1624, the legacy having in the meantime been misapplied, the executors were called upon to find "two sureties for payment both of principal and interest to the churchwardens until a stipend for the said school be laboured for or otherwise ordered by the commissioners for pious uses."

For this information we are indebted to Harleian MS. 2,176, folio 32, preserved in the British Museum. What, however, eventually became of the money we are unable to say.

At folio 37 of the same MS. we learn of another legacy, a rent charge of 40/- per annum on land in Windle, in Prescot parish, the joint gift of Ralph Barton of Grays Inn, Esq., and Ralph Heaton of Heaton, gentlemen, to be employed for the benefit of the school to be kept at Deane Church.

This legacy of over 280 years ago is still paid, we believe, to the trustees of Deane Schools.

Turning to the same MS. again, we find reference, at folio 30b, made to the will, dated July 8, 1623, of Ralph Crompton of Manchester, formerly of Deane parish, in which he says :

"I give to the poor of Rumworth £50, and after other legacies, my will discharged, I give the reversion of my goods to my brother James Crompton if he survive Emma his now wife; and if he happen to die before his said wife, then I give the said reversion to the poor of Rumworth to be given as before."

Ralph did not long survive the making of this will, and at his death his brother James, with his co-executors, appears to have gone to the commissioners for pious uses, sitting at Wigan, and presided over by the Bishop of Chester, Dr. Bridgeman, to have the terms of the will varied as follows :—

"The said James Crompton hath before us voluntarily remised the power of his disposing, after his death, the residue of the goods mentioned in the said Ralph's will, if in case he survive the said Emma his wife.

"And is contented that all the said residue shall, after the death of the said James, remain to the use of the poor of Rumworth, notwithstanding he shall survive his said wife, and promise to give security for the same so as he may have the benefit thereof during his life time."

Thus, concurred in by the court, the poor of Rumworth were to have the benefit of all the estate on the death of James Crompton.

We know not the date of his death, but it was not till thirty-seven years after the date of the said will that the poor of Rumworth came to participate in the estate, and for many years before that it is said to have been misapplied.

In 1660 John Tilsley, then Vicar of Deane, was, after several years' legal proceedings, able to recover £462 belonging to the

DEANE STONE SCHOOL, AS BUILT IN 1820.

estate, from the representatives of the said James Crompton's deceased executors.

This sum Vicar Tilsley invested in lands at Tottington, near Bury, partly in behalf of the poor of Rumworth, and partly in aid of the schools at Deane, "the annual issues being," says Baines in 1834, "£38 for the poor; for Deane Schools £32."

And now, controlled by two sets of trustees, the charity is, we believe, being duly administered at the present day.

Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, referring, in his Notitia Cestriensis, 1720, to Deane and other schools in the parish, tells us that "in this parish are four schools, one an ancient structure reported to have been built by one Tho. Leigh in Rumworth.

"Salary to the master, £9 per annum, from land in Tottington bought with money given by Ralph Crompton, and £2 per annum rent charge in Windle, Prescott Parish, by whom given not known [Ralph Barton and Ralph Heaton, as we have just seen]. The school is free to the inhabitants of this township only, and the master is nominated by Mr. Richardson, the only surviving trustee."

This ancient school is known as the small building still seen, with its gable end covered with posters, on the opposite side of the road to the churchyard gates.

In the early days of the writer it was a thatched cottage, and occupied as a dwelling-house till, becoming too dilapidated for that purpose, it was added to the stables in rear of it and re-roofed with slates.

In this thatched cottage Abraham Boardman, schoolmaster and parish clerk, taught the village children from 1801 to 1820, when, with his scholars, he removed to the more spacious and handsome school, a stone building, erected for the purpose, a few yards to the west of the old school, and consisting of ground floor and upper room.

Another stone school, for infants, was added about the year 1835, a few yards distant from, and in line with, the above school.

To these latter schools, and the venerable church to which they belong, the writer owes his early training in secular and religious subjects, blessings for which he is still very grateful.

After reigning 25 years, King James died of an ague, March 27th, 1625, and his son Charles I., at the age of 25, succeeded him.

Turning to the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, for the year 1633-34,* page 559, preserved in the Record Office, we find the

* March 25th, 1633, to March, 1634.

following singular information recorded :—"April 18th, 1634. Certificate of Bishop Bridgeman of Chester, and J. Bradshaw, Justices of Peace for County of Lancaster, of their proceedings under the King's books of orders in the parishes of Bolton and Dean during the last and present months ; under Deane parish with the date 21st March 1633-4, it is stated that the Constable of Halliwell presented that a blind woman was whipped and sent to the place of her birth."

Such was the rigour of the law in those days, and so it had been from time immemorial, that no person could remove from one township to another without the consent of the overseers of the townships concerned.

Sad, however, to think that the poor woman—blind, as well as poor—could not be sent back to her own township without adding to her already great affliction that of a whipping, as if she had been but a stray dog.

Bishop Bridgeman was at this time residing at Lever Hall, Bolton, and his descendants, the Bradford family, own at the present day considerable land in Bolton and the neighbourhood.

Born at Easter in 1577, and educated for the church, he, in 1606, after holding in succession one or two livings in Devonshire, became chaplain to King James.

In 1615 he was made a Canon Residentiary of Exeter, and in the following year the king conferred upon him the Rectory of Wigan, the advowson of which still remains in possession of the Bradford family.

The see of Chester becoming vacant in 1619, the king conferred upon him that bishopric, and allowed him to retain the living of Wigan.

The episcopal palace at Chester being at that time in an unhealthy condition, the new bishop was permitted to reside in Lancashire, and after continuing his residence at Wigan for some years, he purchased from Sir Ralph Ashton, in 1629, Lever Hall, and made it his abode for many years.

In the troublous times of the Commonwealth the bishop suffered much at the hands of the Parliamentary party. He was fined £3,000 by Parliament, and driven from his palace in 1645, after which he took refuge at Morton Hall, in Shropshire, the seat of his eldest son Orlando, where he died in November, 1652, at a good old age.

It was in this bishop's time that King James, and, after him, his son King Charles, were aided in times of emergency by contributions from the clergy, known as loans, subsidies, or ship money.

Lists left by the bishop, and now published by the Lanc. and Ches. Record Society, vol. 12 (1885) furnish us with names of the Lancashire clergy so contributing. Some, however, were excused from giving, their livings being very small; hence we find Vicar Clegge's name omitted therefrom.

The name of his curate, Alexander Horrocks, however, appears in the lists.

List No. 1 is headed "The first loan of the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1620 (for the use of the Count Palatine of the Rhine)."

This count, it will be remembered, was the father of Prince Rupert.

The entry referring to Deane in this list reads thus:—

"Mr. Horrocks, Curate of Dean, £1 0s. 0d."

The total contributions of Manchester Deanery amounted to £37 9s. 0d.

The next list is headed "Contributions from the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1622, towards the recovery of the Palatinate" [the Elector having been driven from his throne].

These contributions were made at the request of the king through the bishops, who were "to gather 3s. 10d. of each minister (per pound) according to his value in the king's book."

Manchester Deanery contributed £106 12s. 8d., and in this list Deane is referred to as follows:—

"Vicar of Deane, Mr. Pendlebury, £0 13 4
Lecturer at ,, ,, Horrocks, 3 0 0"

Knowing of no other vicar of Deane at this time than Mr. Clegge, we are at a loss to understand the first-named entry; nor can we explain how Curate Horrocks comes, in the other entry, to be styled "lecturer."

A third list is called "A subsidy from the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1624."

Here the purpose of it is omitted, and the number of contributions is very small indeed.

Only nine names appear in this list for the Deanery of Manchester, and, of these, two are thus recorded:—

"Vic. Dean, Pendlebury, nil.
Vic. Eccles, Jones, nil."

Another list is headed "Contributions from the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1634-36 (for the repairs of St. Paul's Cathedral, London)."

In this Deane is credited with but one entry, namely :—

"Cur. Deane, Alex. Horrox, p^d 3s. 4d."

A fifth list refers to "the assessment of the clergy of Lancaster for the ship-money, 1635."

This is printed along with the bishop's other lists, but it is said to have been taken from MS. collections preserved in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

Many difficulties attended the collection of this assessment; Leigh is an instance. "The vicar there payed nothinge because he sayd he hath verie small means." Newton is another. "Wm. Thompson, minister or curate of the chapel there, within the parish of Winwick, but we did conceave his stipend to be so very small as that it was not sufficient to mayntayne himselfe, wife, and children, we did forbeare to lay any imposition or tax upon hym at all."

Deane, however, contributed in the person of the

"Minister of West Houghton, 6d."

We now come to the sixth and last list, styled "The second ship-money of the Clergy of the Diocese of Chester, 1639 (in aid of the war against the Scotch)."

Bishop Bridgeman heads the list with £200.

The list for Manchester Deanery records seventeen names, but five of them have no money coupled with them, and Deane is included in the latter, as follows :—

"V. Dean, Rich. Hardy - - - -
Curate there, Alex. Horrox - - -"

At the date of this last subsidy, 1639, Mr. Clegge had ceased to be vicar of Deane three years, but whether from death or advanced age we are unable to say.

In the forenamed subsidy we are introduced to his successor, Mr. Hardy; also once more to the curate of Deane, Alexander Horrocks, of both of whom we shall learn more as we proceed.

CHAPTER LXII.

RICHARD HARDIE (NOW WRITTEN HARDY), 1636-43.

VICAR HARDY was appointed by King Charles the First, and on March 1st, 1636, instituted by the bishop, whose certificate, preserved in the Record Office, reads as follows: "Richard Hardie, Clerk, Master of Arts, was admitted and instituted to the Vicarage of Deane, in the County of Lancaster, Rural Deanery of Manchester, and Diocese of Chester, by right vacant, at the presentation of our Lord the King, the true and undoubted patron of the same vicarage, the aforesaid Richard Hardie, Clerk, having been first sworn and subscribing the articles, the first day of March, 1636, English style."

What is meant by the "English style" is really the "old style," begun by Julius Cæsar in 46 B.C., and is here used to distinguish it from the "Gregorian style" ordained by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, in which year he, by way of rectifying over reckonings of the past, decreed that the 5th of October that year should be reckoned as the 15th.

And at the same time it was arranged that the year in future should consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 49″, 12″, being only 24″ more than the tropical year, or one day in 3,600 years, as against the Julian year of 365 days.

The Gregorian style readily obtained sway in Catholic, but not in Protestant countries. It was not adopted in England till the year 1752, by which time the discrepancy between the Julian and Gregorian periods amounted to eleven days.

And, to correct this, Parliament decreed that the 3rd of September that year should be reckoned the 14th. Now, in our time, the new and old styles differ by twelve days, our first of January being equivalent to the 13th old style.

Vicar Hardy has the honour of having begun the earliest of the parish registers found at Deane at the present day. Of the earlier register, brought to light in the lawsuit of 1598, he probably knew nothing, seeing it is missing both at Deane and in the Bishops' Registry at Chester, where the writer has made due search for it.

Defendant in the above action of forty years back, James Pendleburie, then a young man, would appear to have closed his curacy at Deane with the death of his old vicar, Mr. Clegge.

And now, in his old age, we find him referred to in the registers, by Mr. Hardy, the new vicar—after recording, on February 4th, 1638, the marriage of a man and a woman from Turton—as follows :

"Other 3 [couples], I have heard, have privately been married by old Mr. Pendlebury, but not lawfully, for . . . . . .* he is not allowed, neither by God nor man, therefore . . . . . .*

Started in 1637, and at first kept in Latin, and in separate folios, the registers record the baptisms, marriages, and burials of parishioners for over two centuries and a half. And, excepting the first page, which relates to burials, and the ink of which is much faded, they still appear intelligible throughout.

Taken at Chester, the following is a copy of the first transcript of Deane registers, sent by Vicar Hardy to the Bishops' Registry, and being for the year 1637-38, it doubtless includes the entries we are unable to decipher on the first page referred to :—

A true Register of the Parish Church of Deane this p'sent year 1637.

Jacobus fili. Richardi Leighe de Lostocke bapt. 30 die mensis Aprilis.

Gulielm. fili. Richardi Lumax de Halliwall babtiz. eode die.

Richardus Edge de Midlehulton sepult fuit octavo die mensis Augustij.

Gulielm. fili. Gulielmi Worthington de Ov'hulton bapt. 28° die Augustij.

Anna filia Gulielmi Bordman de Midlehulton bapt. 3° die Septembris.

Richard. Bullocke de Litlehulton sepult fuit 8° mensis Septembris.

Elizabetha Vx Gulielmi Richardson de Midlehulto' sepult fuit eode die.

Galfrides fili. Henrici Flitcroft de Culcheth bapt. 13° die Septembris.

Jacob. filius Radi Hardman de Litlehulton sepult fuit 15 die Septem.

Jacob. Bordman de Litlehulton sepult fuit 16° die Septembris.

Gulielm. filius Johannis Rishton de Kersley bapt. 17° die Septembris.

Infans Johannis Whitle de Halliwall sepult fuit 18° die Septembris.

Rogerus Harper de Farneworth sepult fuit eode die.

Robt. Pendlebury et Ester Pendlebury sponsati fuerunt eode die.

Robt. Fisher et Ellena Berch sponsati fuerunt eode die.

Johannes filius Jacobi Sutherne de Westhaughton bapt. 24° Septembr.

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* Words too indistinct to make out.

Radus filius Christopheri Baron de Ov'hulto' bapt. eode die.
Denis Grundie de Rumworth sepult fuit 27° die Septembris.
Jacobus filius Henrici Hart de Westhaughton bapt. 29° Septembris.
Alicia filia Robti Leighe de Westhoughton bapt. primo die Octobris.
Jana filia Radi Milnes de Litlehulton bapt. eode die.
Ellena filia Thomœ Apleton de Halliwall sepult fuit eode die.
Johnnes Walworth et Jane Leaver sponsati fuerunt 2° die Octobris.
Roger. fili. Rogeri Yates de Overhulton bapt. 3° die Octobris.
Richard. fili. Egidij Morris de Horwich, bapt. eodem die.
Joan Uxor Johanis Smith of Westhaughton sepult fuit 12 Octobris.
Alicia filia Gilberti Laughton bapt. 15° die mensis Octobris.
Alicia filia Oliveri Taylor de Litlehulton bapt. eodem die.
Margareta filia Radi Alred de Litlehulton sepult 21° Octobris.
Alicia filia Johannis Crompton de Kersley bapt. 22° Octobris.
Thomas Walworth de Kersley sepult fuit 23° die mensis Octobris.
Johannes Leighe et Elizabetha Robinson sponsati fuerunt 24° Octobris.
Johannes Higson et Alicia Roscowe sponsati fuerunt eode die.
Ellena Uxor Jacobi Stones de Horwich sepult fuit 25° Octobris.
Emmanuelus filius Johannis Hedocke de Horwich bapt. 28° Octobris.
Randeleus Greene de Westhaughton sepult fuit 29° mensis Octobris.
Thomas Greenehalgh et Anna Walworth sponsati fuerunt 1° Novembr.
Johannes Haughe et Jana Tonge sponsati fuerunt eode die.
Elizabeth filia Gulielmi Hulton de Westhaughton sepult fuit 2° die.
Jacob. Grundie de Farneworth sepult fuit eode die.
Alicia filia Johannis Wilson de Horwich bapt. eodem die.
Jacob. Pendleburie Junior de Rumworth sepult fuit 7° die Novembris.
Deborah Uxor Johnis Mather de Kersley sepult fuit 12° Novembris.
Johannes Willmson et Maria Smithyes sponsati fuerunt 14° die.
Ellena Uxor Johannis Godbeere de Westhaughton sepult fuit 16° die.
Alicia Uxor Jacobi Richardson de Westhaughton sepult fuit 19° die.
Robt. filius Edwardi Hulme de Westhaughton bapt. eode die.
Margareta filia Richardi Morris de Heaton bapt. 26° die mensis Novembris.
Dorothya filia Johannis Shakerley de Litlehulton sepult fuit 29° Novembris.
Dorothya filia Thomœ Sheerer de Kersley bapt. 3° die mensis Decemb.
Gulielm. filius Johannis Cowdall de Rumworth bapt. eode die.
Alicia Uxor Petrie Gorton de Horwich sepult fuit 5° die Decembris.

Maria filia Johannis Anderton de Westhaughton sepult fuit eodem die.
Jana filia Johannis Faireclough de Kersley bapt. eode die.
Margareta filia Randlei Shakerley de Litlehulton bapt. 10° die Decembris.
Elizeus Aynsworth de Farneworth sepult fuit 14° die mensis Decembris.
Johannes Willmson et Maria Smithyes sponsati fuerunt eodem die.
Robt. Grundie de Farneworth sepult fuit 6° die mensis Decembris.
Infans Richardi Hodgekinson de Westhoughton sepult fuit eodem die.
Edmund. filius Radi Cheetam de Farneworth bapt. 17° die Decembris.
Jeneta filia Thomas Sheerer de Farneworth bapt. eode die.
Ux. Henrici Davidson de Kersley sepult fuit 20 die Decembris.
Nathaniel filius Henrici Mullineux de Westhaughton bapt. 24 Decembris.
Elenora filia Richardi Hosker de Westhaughton bapt. eodem die.
Ellena filia Gulielmi Parkinson de Rumworth bapt. eodem die.
Alicia Vx. Caroli Hindley de Ov'hulton sepult fuit 27° die Decembris.
Gulielmus filius Adami Hurst de Ov'hulton bapt. 29° die Decembris.
Robt. Bulhaughe et Alicia Edge sponsati fuerunt 30° die Decembris.
Alicia filia Gulielmi Edge de Ov'hulton sepult fuit 3° die Januarij [1638].
Johannes filius Johannis Leighe de Rumworth bapt. 5° die Januarij.
Edwardus Cheetam et Jana Norres sponsati fuerunt 8° die Januarij.
Elizabetha filia Jacobi Makinson de Horwich bapt. 14° die Januarij.
Jenete Vx. Andrei Ward de Halliwall sepult 15 die mensis Januarij.
Richard. Wood de Farneworth sepult fuit 16 die mensis Januarij.
Ux. Richardi Burton de Farneworth sepult fuit eode die.
Johannes filius Thurstani Whitle de Horwich bapt. 21 die Januarij.
Thomas Edge Maria Heighfild sponsati fuerunt eode die.
Ellena filia Thomœ Thropp de Atherton bapt. 24° die Januarij.
Infans Johannis Grundie de Farneworth sepult fuit 25 die Januarij.
Jacobus filius Thomœ Garnet de Ov'hulton bapt. 28 die mensis Januarij.
Johannes filius Jacobi Grundie de Westhaughton bapt. eode die.
Edward. fili. Alexandri Rigbie de Westhaughton bapt. eodem die.
Johannes fili. Robti Fishe de Westhaughton bapt. eode die.
Filia Jacobi Rigbie de Westhaughton sepult fuit 29° die Januarij.
Johannes Hurst et Maria Berry sponsati fuerunt eode die.
Rogerus filius Johanis Bordman de Midlehulton sepult fuit 30 Januarij.

Gulielm. filius Thomœ Lightboune de Halliwall ultimo die Januarij.
Petrus Rylands et Ellena Leighe sponsati fuerunt primo die Februarij.
Johannes Grundie et Anna Turner sponsati fuerunt eode die.
Johannes Smith de Westhaughto' sepult fuit 4° die Februarij.
Johannes Aynsworth in Artib. Magister sepult fuit quinto die Februarij.
Thomas filius Thomœ Hodgekinson de Horwich bapt. eode die.
Jacob. filius Radi Leighe de Westhaughton bapt. eode die.
Adam. filius Elizeij Matsand de Overhulton bapt. eode die.
Robt. filius Hugoni Rigbie de Westhaughton bapt. nono die Februarij.
Johannes Elderson de Halliwall sepult fuit eode die.
Gulielm. Houlme de Halliwall sepult fuit 15 die Februarij.
Thomas Darbishire de Farneworth sepult fuit eodem die.
Elena Ux. Richardi Rothwell de Farneworth sepult fuit 17° die Februarij.
Robt. filius Adami Muncks de Westhaughton bapt. 18 die mensis Februarij.
Anna filia Gulielmi Hanckeshawe de Westhaughton bapt. eodem die.
Johannes filius Rogeri Edge de Midlehulto' bapt. 25° die Februarij.
Alicia filia Thomœ Pendlebury de Heaton bapt. eodem die.
Elizabeth Hulton de Westhaughton Spinster sepult fuit 28° Februarij.

Mensis Marcij.

Egidi. Aynesworth de Farneworth sepult fuit tertio die Marcij.
Margeria filia Johanni Barker de Ov'hulton bapt. 4° die Marcij.
Edmundus Cheetam de Farneworth sepult fuit 9° die Marcij.
Henric. filius Jacobi Smith de Westhaughto' bapt. 11° die Marcij.
Margareta filia Robti Houlme bapt. eode die.
Thomas filius Rogeri Rycroft de Westhaughto' sepult fuit 13° Marcij.
Arboleta Grundie de Farneworth sepult 18° die Marcij.
Elizabetha filia Richi. France de Westhaughto' bapt. eodem die.

RICHARD. HARDYE, Vicar.

Here we may add that bapt. means baptized; die, day; mensis, month; sepult fuit, buried; filia, daughter; filius, son; sponsati fuerunt, married; uxor, ux., or Vx., wife; and de, of.

Earlier transcripts than the foregoing are to be seen at the Bishops' Registry. Some of them, however, are so perished that of these only portions of their contents can be deciphered.

Allowing for missing intervals, they extend from 1613 to 1630, all bearing the signature of Curate Pendleburie; and placed in the order of date, they represent the following years :—1613-14, 1614-15, 1615-16, 1617-18, 1619-20, 1621-22, 1624-25, 1626-27, 1627-28, 1628-29, 1629-30.

These are doubtless transcripts from the missing register, and, each year dating from March 25th to March 24th following, which constituted what was then termed the "legal year," they leave a gap of six years between this last one and that of Vicar Hardy.

This legal year—the ancient Jewish year—as seen here, differing from the Roman year, our present mode of reckoning, it was customary at this time and up to 1751, "to set down dates between the 1st of January and the 24th of March inclusive, thus: January 30th, 1648-9, meaning that popularly the year was 1649 but legally 1648. It was not till 1752 that the 1st of January became the initial day of the legal, as it had long been of the popular year." Vide Chambers' Book of Days.

Beyond his appointment, and the subsequent mention of him in the Subsidy List of 1639, we find nothing recorded of Vicar Hardy till February, 1642, and then the information regarding him is limited to his signature to a Parliamentary document known as "The National Protestation," a solemn declaration of opinion or resolution, and this we will refer to again later on.

It was in the month following the signing of this "National Protestation" that the royal patron of Deane Living, angered at Parliament, left London for York, never to return except as a prisoner in 1648, the result of the unfortunate Civil War, which followed upon the king's departure from the seat of government.

Here let us turn for a few minutes to some of the leading incidents of the king's eventful but unhappy reign, which appear to have led to this terrible war, in the early period of which Deane Moor was the camp of a large force of the king's troops, under Prince Rupert and the Earl of Derby.

It was from the summit of the Moor that Bolton, held by Parliamentarians, was, after two unsuccessful assaults, eventually carried by storm, followed, it is said, by great slaughter of the inhabitants, alluding to which, Ormerod, at page 189 of "War Tracts," says "the warmest advocate of Rupert would not praise him for mercy."

Referring to Charles' reign, Baines says: "The king and the ardent friends of prerogatives wished to govern the country without

a Parliament, so deep was their disgust at the resistance made to the king's demands for grants from the people.

"And the supporters of the privileges of Parliament resolutely determined to uphold these bulwarks of the national liberties, and persevered in doing so till the sword was drawn, and they came to govern without a king."

The May following his father's death, in March, 1625, Charles married Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. of France, and sister of the then reigning king.

Inheriting from her father a strong attachment to absolute power, "she never ceased," says Collier, "through all her husband's life, to urge him on in that dangerous path towards which his own temper inclined him far too much.

"The expensive Spanish war, begun in the last reign, still continued. To meet its cost, Charles asked his Parliament for a supply, but the majority of the Commons were Puritans, and, looking with a jealous eye on the Catholic queen, they granted only £140,000 with tonnage and poundage for one year.

"Enraged at this want of confidence, and especially at some charges brought against Buckingham [Charles' leading minister], the king dissolved their sitting in three weeks.

"Charles then levied taxes by his own authority, revived the old abuse of benevolence, and began to quarter his soldiers in private houses."

Ransome, referring to this Parliament, tells us that, "as part of the plan for the Spanish War, Charles lent to the French eight ships.

"Richelieu, however, the French minister, used the ships not against Spain, but against the Protestant Huguenots of Rochelle.

"This irritated the English Protestants, and when they learnt that the marriage treaty with Henrietta had given her full liberty for worship [as a Catholic], and that the court was showing favour to the Roman Catholics by pardoning convicted priests, Parliament became so outspoken against the government, and especially against Buckingham, that Charles had recourse to a dissolution.

"The second Parliament," continues Collier, "meeting in 1626, prepared to impeach Buckingham, but they had not passed a single Act when dissolution checked their plans.

"The same illegal taxation followed. Many who resisted were imprisoned."

Ransome says: "The king was forced by his necessities to call their second Parliament, and, in calling it, Charles continued to get rid of some of the most out-spoken members by naming them sheriffs, so that they could not be returned [to Parliament] as Knights of the Shire."

Two members—Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot—boldly impeaching Buckingham, "the king sent them to the Tower. The Commons refused to continue business till they were released, and Charles was forced to give in.

"The impeachment was then resumed, and as the Commons refused to grant any support till their grievances were redressed, the second Parliament was dismissed.

"In 1628 Charles," Collier tells us, "called his third Parliament. Before granting any money, however, the Commons drew the famous Petition of Rights, requiring the king to levy no taxes without consent of Parliament, to detain no one in prison without trial, and to billet no soldiers in private houses.

"An assent was wrung from the reluctant Charles, and the Commons, rejoicing in this second great charter of English liberty, gave him five subsidies—equal to nearly £400,000; but in three weeks it was seen that the king regarded not the solemn promise he had made.

"The Commons murmured, but the king heeded them not; they set about preparing a remonstrance, he came to interfere; they locked themselves in, he got a blacksmith to open the doors, but he found the House had adjourned.

"Nine members were sent to prison, where one, Sir John Eliot, soon died. The Parliament was at once dissolved by the angry king.

"For eleven years, 1629 to 1640, no Parliament was called—a case without parallel in our history. Wentworth, now Earl of Stafford, and Archbishop Laud were the principal ministers of Charles during these years.

"William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, directed the affairs of the church. Almost a Catholic in his opinions, he hated with no common bitterness the religious services of the Puritans.

"In the Star Chamber men were sentenced to fine, imprisonment, and even mutilation, for resisting the policy of the king.

"The terrors of the High Commission Court were launched against all who dared to differ in religious opinions from Laud.

"Through all these years a great emigration of the Puritans had been draining England of her best blood. Hampden, Pym, Cromwell himself, were on board, bound for the colony of New England, when a Government order came to stop the sailing of the ship."

Laud at this period had become Archbishop of Canterbury, and, soon after his appointment, had commenced an attack on the Puritan ministry. The use of the surplice, and the ceremonies most offensive to the Puritan feeling, were enforced.

The Puritans regarded the Lord's Day with great reverence; the Laudians, on the other hand, looked upon it simply as one of the holidays of the church, and encouraged their flocks in certain games and recreations after service.

Laud caused a royal declaration in favour of Sunday pastimes to be read by every minister from the pulpit. Many, refusing to comply, were cited before the High Commission, and silenced or deprived.

Some of the bishops and clergy advocated auricular confession, a real presence in the sacrament, and prayers for the dead.

In Scotland, Laud's attempt to impose the English liturgy on the Scottish nation, and to supplant Presbyterianism by Episcopacy, led to an insurrection there in which all classes joined and bound themselves by solemn league and covenant not to separate until their rights and liberties were secured.

And as Charles was not expected to agree, preparations were made for war. It was the first sign of armed resistance to Charles' government, and what would come of it none could tell.

Charles appealed to arms, but met with faint support, while the Scots were able to collect a formidable force.

The two armies met near Berwick. Charles, however, was not strong enough to fight, and the two armies returned home on his consenting to the gathering of a free Assembly and Parliament.

Still, the pacification at Berwick was looked upon as a mere truce, and preparations to renew the war were made on both sides.

Again Charles found himself forced to summon a Parliament, the fourth, and known as the Short Parliament.

It assembled in April, 1640, but being met with the same demands as before, he dissolved it before it had sat a month.

In the summer the Scottish army crossed the Tweed and, in the face of an English detachment, seized Newcastle, from whence they despatched their proposal for peace.

The king, in his extremity, called a council of lords at York, but, though they pledged their credit to raise money, they declined to act apart from the Commons.

Seeing no other course open, Charles made a truce with the Scots, and called a Parliament for November 3rd, 1640.

On that day the fifth and last Parliament of Charles' reign, known as the Long Parliament, met.

"Not one of the leading Puritans of this Parliament," says Green, "was a Presbyterian. Pym and Hampden had no sort of objection to Episcopacy, and the adoption of the Presbyterian system was only forced on the Puritant patriots, in their later struggle, by political consideration.

"No greater moral change ever passed over a nation than passed over England during the years which parted the middle of the reign of Elizabeth from the meeting of the Long Parliament.

"England became the people of the book, and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman. It was read at churches and at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened to their force and beauty, kindled a startling enthusiasm.

"As a mere literary monument the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue; its perpetual use made it, from the instant of its appearance, the standard of our language.

"The power of the book over the mass of English men showed itself in a thousand superficial ways, and in none more conspicuously than in the influence it exerted on ordinary speech.

"The mass of picturesque allusion and illustration which we borrow from a thousand books, our fathers were forced to borrow from one; and the borrowing was the easier and the more natural that the range of the Hebrew literature fitted it for the expression of every phase of feeling.

"When Cromwell saw the mist break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sun-burst with the cry of David: 'Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered. Like as the sun riseth, so shalt Thou drive them away.'

"The whole moral effect which is produced now-a-days by the religious newspapers, the tract, the essay, the lecture, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone.

"And the effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing; the whole temper of the nation

was changed; a new moral and religious impulse spread through every class; the whole nation became, in fact, a church.

"The great problems of life and death, whose obstinate questionings found no answer in the higher minds of Shakespere's day, pressed for an answer from the men who followed him.

"We must not, indeed, picture the early Puritan as a gloomy fanatic; it was long before the religious movement, which affected the nobleman and the squire as much as the shopkeeper and the farmer, came into conflict with general culture.

"The strength of the Puritan cause lay as yet rather in the middle and professional class than among the small traders or the gentry, and it is in a Puritan of this class that we find the fullest and noblest expressions of the new influence which was leavening the temper of the time.

"The temper of a Puritan gentleman was just, noble, and self-controlled; passion was replaced by a manly purity; his aim was to attain self-command, to be master of himself, of his thought, and speech, and acts.

"His life was orderly and methodical, sparing of diet and self-indulgence; he rose early; he never was at any time idle."

CHAPTER LXIII.

RETURNING to the Long Parliament, Ransome tells us that, "for the most part, its members belonged to the class of country gentlemen. There were few citizens or townsmen among them, for most of the country towns preferred to choose a representative from one of the county families.

"Few members were not owners of landed property. They were not, therefore, as a class, likely to be revolutionary.

"Next to the landed gentry stood the lawyers, who were certainly not the men to readily support violent changes in the constitution.

"There were, however, no two opinions about the badness of the past government both in church and state.

"Earl Strafford and Archbishop Laud were at once impeached of high treason; the ecclesiastical policy of Laud was reversed; and Pryne and others, who had been imprisoned by the unpopular law courts, were released.

"A Triennial Act was passed, by which it was ordered that more than three years should not elapse without a Parliament being summoned.

"These measures occupied the autumn and winter of 1640 and 1641."

In the latter year the king gave his consent to a Bill by which he agreed that Parliament should not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent.

Soon afterwards a grant of tonnage and poundage for two months was made, and terms were arranged with the Scotch.

The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were abolished.

Statutes were passed against the collection of ship-money and illegal custom dues.

A bill of attainder against Strafford was brought into the Commons, passed through the Lords, and he was executed on May 12th, 1641.

In September, after a long session, Parliament separated for a recess, to meet in October.

During the recess the party who thought that Charles had yielded enough seems to have gained strength, and when Parliament

met again it was soon found that the members had, for the first time, ranged themselves into two distinct political parties of nearly equal strength, namely—one, the nobles, the gentlemen, and the clergy, who supported the king; the other, the great mass of farmers, merchants, and shopkeepers, who opposed the king.

The former received the name of Royalists, and the latter that of Parliamentarians.

The king's party were also styled "Cavaliers," from their gallant bearing and skill in horsemanship; while the opposition were called "Roundheads," from the Puritan fashion of wearing closely-cropped hair.

On the 22nd November, 1641, after a keen contest between these two parties, it was resolved in the Commons, by the small majority of eleven, to draw up a Remonstrance, complaining of the king's previous government.

"A day or two later," says Ransome, "Charles returned to London. He was well received by the citizens, and their cheers encouraged him to attack the Commons.

"He had now a party in the House itself; Digby was his friend, and Falkland and Hyde, the leading opponents of the Remonstrance, had joined him.

"He believed that a stout blow at the leaders would still win the day; and on January 3rd, 1642, the attorney general charged Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—Pryne, Hampden, Holles, Hazelrig, and Strode—with high treason.

"This attack offended the House of Lords, of which Lord Kimbolton was a member, as well as the Commons. Both Houses took time to consider what should be done.

"This delay angered the king, and on January 5th, attended by a band of armed men, he hurried down from Whitehall to Westminster and demanded that the five members should be given up to him.

"Fortunately word had been sent to Pryne of what was intended, and while Charles was marching from Whitehall to Westminster the members fled by boat to the city."

The National His. of Eng. tells us that, after enquiring if the accused were present in the House and receiving no response, the king turned to the speaker for an answer, whereupon Speaker Lenthal, an ordinarily timid man, but made great by a great occasion, fell on his knees.

"'Your majesty,' he exclaimed, 'I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here; and humbly I beg your pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me.'

"The singularly appropriate reply seemed to confuse the king. 'Well, well,' he stuttered rapidly, ''tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's, and since I see all my birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return thither.'

"Finding," continues Ransome, "the birds, as he said, flown, Charles returned to Whitehall. From that moment war was all but inevitable.

"Meanwhile the Londoners had determined to protect the members. To Charles' demand for their surrender, 'Privilege of Parliament' was shouted in return.

"They adjourned for a week, when they meant to conduct the five members in triumph from Temple Bar to Westminster, and Charles, to avoid seeing his own humiliation, left London, never to return until just before his execution.

"Parliament then determined to call out the militia, then the only regular military force.

"An Act was passed giving to Parliament the appointment of the lords-lieutenant, thus securing hold over the militia.

"This course was unconstitutional, for Parliament was taking upon itself the duties of the executive government, and as the king refused to agree to the Act, Parliament determined that it should take effect without his consent.

"Their action, therefore, was unconstitutional and illegal.

"Both parties now began to prepare for war. The king sent the queen to buy arms in Holland, and, taking his eldest son with him, moved in March, 1642, northwards to York, where he was joined by many noblemen [thirty-two lords] and members of the House of Commons [sixty], and war became inevitable.

"To pay their troops, the Commons made an order for levying tonnage and poundage. Charles was worse off, and had to rely upon the generosity of his followers.

"High Churchmen and Roman Catholics followed Charles; Puritans and Separatists followed Parliament.

"All ranks were divided; noblemen and gentlemen fought on either side; the tradespeople, as a rule, were Parliamentarians, especially in London.

"The poorer classes usually went with their landlords; men of equal nobility and purity of motive were to be found on either side."

The royal standard was first raised in Nottingham, and "in the autumn both parties had armies in the field. The king fixed his head quarters at Shrewsbury, where his followers from all parts could join him. The Earl of Essex led the Parliamentary forces, and his aim was to keep Charles at a distance from the capital."

Prince Rupert, who had come over from Holland to help his uncle, led the Royalist cavalry. He was then a young man of twenty-three.

A few months before setting out for Holland the queen had unwittingly made some reference to the proceedings of the House of Commons, and, being called upon for proof of her statement, she made the following handsome apology to the House:—

"I do confess and acknowledge to have been mistaken in reporting what was delivered to me upon discourse from some member of the House of Commons, and am most heartily sorry for it, beseeching with all humility the pardon of the honourable House of Commons for that mistake." This we came across in a printed copy of the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. 2, p. 379, Jan. 21st, 1642, found in the British Museum.

And, singular to say, in the same volume, ten pages beyond this, may be seen, included in the proceedings of the House, the following account of "The National Protestation" previously, but briefly, referred to:—

"20th January, 1641-2.

"Mr. Serjeant Wilde presented from the committee that sat at Grocers' Hall the copy of a letter to be signed by Mr. Speaker, and sent to the several sheriffs of the several counties respectively, which was read in hoc verba.

"'Gentlemen,

"'It is now some months since the Protestation taken by the Lords and House of Commons was sent down into the country with an expectation that it should be generally taken throughout the kingdom for a testimony of their good concurrence with the Parliament; but through remissions of some of those that had the

care of recommending it to others, very many there be that have not hitherto taken it.

"'Now the House of Commons, having discovered many dangerous designs plotted against the Parliament, and especially that of the fourth of this instant January, which, had it taken effect, would have struck not only at the privileges, but the very being of Parliament, have thought fit once again to recommend the taking of this Protestation.

"'And have therefore commended me in their names to desire you, the High Sheriff, and the Justices of the Peace of that county to meet together in one place, as soon as possible you may, and there take the Protestation yourselves and then dispersing yourselves into your several divisions, that you call together the ministers, the constables, churchwardens, and overseers of the poor of every parish, and tender unto them the Protestation, to be taken in your presence, and to desire of them that they will very speedily call together the inhabitants of their several parishes, both householders and others, being of eighteen years of age and upwards, into one or more places, according to the longness of their parishes, and to tender unto them the same Protestation to be taken in their presence.

"'And to take the names both of those that take it and do refuse to take the same Protestations; and to return them to yourselves at such times as you shall appoint, which the House desires may be so speedily as you likewise may return such certificate as you receive from them to the K. and B. serving for that county before the day of wherein the House desires your greatest care and diligence, as a matter very much importing the good of both of the king and kingdom; which being all I have to command, I rest,

"'Your very loving Friend,

"'London, January 19th, 1641-2.'"

"'Ordered

"'That the knights, citizens, burgesses, and barons of the counties, cities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports respectively, shall write their letters to the justices of the several counties to do their best endeavours that the Protestation may be taken through the several counties, cities, boroughs, and ports respectively.'"

To understand the full purport of this "National Protestation," we must now turn to vol. 1, part 2, page 132, of the Journals of the House of Commons, where we find the following recorded:—

"A preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons, the 3rd of May 1641, and assented unto by the Lords of the upper House, the 4th of May.

"We, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons in Parliament, to the grief of our hearts that the designs of the priests and Jesuits, and other adherents to the see of Rome, have of late more boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining and danger of the ruin of the true reformed religion, in his majesty's dominions, have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of our united affections and resolutions, and to make the ensuing Protestation.

"I., A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true, reformed, Protestant religion, expressed in doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish innovations, and according to the duty of my allegiance to his majesty's royal person, honour, and estate; as also the power and privilege of Parliament, the lawful rights and liberties of the subjects, and every person, that making this Protestation, in whatsoever he shall do, in the lawful pursuance of the same.

"And to my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment, all such as shall by force, practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise do anything to the contrary in this present Protestation contained.

"And further, I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and neither for hope, fear, nor other respect, shall relinquish this promise, vow, and Protestation.

"Ordered

"That Mr. Speaker shall first make this Protestation."

Here follow the names of the members of the House of Commons who made the Protestation, and the date "May 3rd, 1641, 17 Car. Regis."

From Bayley's MS., to be seen in Chetham's Library, Manchester, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to Croston's Edition of Baines, we append the names of the clergy, constables, churchwardens, and overseers of the parishes of Deane and Bolton who signed the Protestation.

DEANE PARISH.

Sir Thomas Barton, Knight.
Edward Rawstorne, Esqr
Alexander Horrockes, Clerke.
Richard Hardie, Clerke.
Thomas Johnson, Clerke.
John Tyldsley, Clerke.
James Walton, Clerke.

Constables :

James Horrockes.
Alexander Walloden.
Thomas Lightbo.
Robert Robinson.
John Crompton.
Richard Barrs.
Thomas Edge.
Richard Mort.

Churchwardens :

Richard Webster.
George Sweetlove.
John Manckes.
William Hope.
Adam Rigbye.
John Rycroft.
John Edge.
Gyles Higson.
Christopher Smethurst.

Overseers :

Thomas Skipton.
Robert Ward.
Robert Yate.
William Horrockes.
James Rigbye.
Robert Mather.

BOLTON PARISH.

William Gregge, Clerke.
John Harper, Clerke.
James Bradshaw, Clerke.
Robt. Dewhurst, Clerke.
William Leigh, Clerke.

Constables :

Bernard Townley.
William Smethley.
Joseph Moxon.
John Howell.
William Horrockes.
Alexander Stones.
Thomas Longworth.
John Haslam.
Christopher Rawstorne.
Alexander Haworth.
Thomas Grenehalgh.
Roger Browne.
George Manckes.
John Bullough.
Ralph Vose.
Thomas Grenehalgh.
Richard Ffogg.

Churchwardens :

Ralph Roscow.
Nathaniell Longworth.
James Headocke.
Richard Kershaw.
Hugh Wattmough.
Adam Haslam.
Ellis Bradshaw.
John Parr.
John Brooke.
Thomas Thomason.

"The parties above written have taken the Protestation in the presence of us, and none refused, beinge Justices of Peace.

"THO. BARTON.
"J. BRADSHAW.

"And wee have also accordinge to ye direction apoynted ye sd ministers, etc., a day for the retorne of their certificate unto us,

which they have dune accordingly under their hande as hereafter may apeere by the sd certificates annexed."

Deane parish at this time evidently possessed five ministers, each of whom in the foregoing list adds only "clerke" to his signature, thus leaving the reader to assign to each one his respective official position in the parish.

And the fact of Horrocks' name preceding that of Vicar Hardy has led to various conjectures as to who was really Vicar of Deane at this period, by writers unacquainted with the references to Deane clergy made in the Subsidy Lists alluded to in Vicar Clegge's time.

Leaving Vicar Hardy for consideration later on, let us refer to the other ministers in the order of their signatures.

Alexander Horrocks, we have already seen, from the frequency with which his name appears in the Subsidy Lists, was curate of West Houghton as far back as 1620, and he is said to have preached a nuptial sermon at Bolton Church at the earlier date of 1615.

"His parentage," says Croston's Edition of Baines, 1890, "is not known, but he was a Lancashire man, and probably a native of Turton, where it is known that his brother and sister resided.

"He was serving as curate of Deane in 1619, and while holding that office appears to have attracted the unfavourable notice of Archbishop Laud, who made his strong arm felt in the northern as well as the southern province.

"Oliver Heywood," continues Croston, "in his life of John Angier, relates a conversation between Bishop Bridgeman, who was then residing at Great Lever [about three miles to the south-east of Deane], and inclined to be indulgent to his clergy, and Angier, who was at the time minister of Ringley [afterwards vicar of Denton].

"The bishop, more grieved than angry, said: 'Mr. Angier, I have a good will to indulge you, but cannot, for my Lord Grace of Canterbury hath rebuked me for permitting two Nonconformists, the one within a mile on one hand (that was good Mr. Horrocks of Dean Church), another on the other (yourself), and I am likely to come into disfavour on this behalf.

"'As for Mr. Horrocks,' saith he, 'my hands are bound; I cannot meddle with him ('tis thought by reason of some promises to his wife); but as for you, Mr. Angier, you are a young man, and doubtless may get another place; and if you were anywhere at a little further distance I could better look away from you, for I do study to do you a kindness, but cannot as long as you are thus near me.'"

CHAPTER LXIV.

HERE it may be interesting to say that Oliver Heywood, a noted Nonconformist, was a native of Bolton, and the son-in-law of Angier who took for his wife, in 1628, one Ellen Winstanley, born near Wigan, and they were the parents of John Angier, junior, the sixth vicar of Deane.

Angier himself, the son of pious parents, was a native of Dedham in Essex, and, born in 1605, was in due time sent to Emanuel College, Cambridge, to qualify for the ministry.

Here, however, "he fell off," says his son-in-law, "to vain company and loose practices, to the great grief of his parents."

And when sent for to visit his father, then stricken with sickness from which he never recovered, "he came so late that as he approached towards Dedham he met the people going from his father's funeral, which made a very deep impression upon him, and ever after he lived a most exemplary life."

His mother, afraid to send him again to Cambridge, sent him to Mr. John Cotton, a pious gentleman residing at Boston, "where he boarded, studied, and some time preached."

While there Angier, fortunately, made the intimate acquaintance of Mr. Anthony Fackercy, a fellow of Emanuel College, who, not long after, became vicar of Boston.

At this time there was living in Mr. Cotton's family his wife's niece, the pious young lady, Ellen Winstanley, whom, as we have seen, Angier eventually married; and it was at Boston that, in June, 1629, their son John, who, in 1663, became vicar of Deane, was born.

The same year, 1629, Angier visited his wife's relations in Lancashire, and, preaching at Bolton and Ringley, was so well liked that before he left he was offered the living of the latter place, which offer, after returning home and consulting his friends, he subsequently accepted, and removed to Ringley in 1630.

Through the influence of Mr. Cotton, Angier had, in 1829, received episcopal ordination, without subscription, at the hands of a bishop in Wales named Lewis Bayley, and "continuing a nonconformist to the ceremonies, he therefore had some adversaries.

"Dr. Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, then living at Great Lever, received various and heavy complaints against Angier for not conforming."

After sending for Mr. Angier many times and admonishing him, and exhorting him to conform, but to no purpose, he was suspended twice in one year, but restored by the mediation of his friends, particularly of the bishop's wife, a pious woman.

At last the good bishop, tired of expostulating with Angier, finally suspended him altogether, after addressing him in the considerate terms, we have just seen in Croston's quotation from "Oliver Heywood's narrative of Angier's life."

Angier's life was a very interesting one, as was also that of his son-in-law and biographer, narrated in his own diary, a work much valued, and containing pleasing references to Deane and neighbourhood.

We must, however, for the present, leave Heywood and return to Alexander Horrocks, the curate of Westhoughton, or, as he preferred to call himself, "Minister of Deane."

"When the parishioners of Deane," continues Croston, "made the protestation on the 23rd of February, 1641-2, Mr. Horrocks signed with them as clerk of Bolton* and Deane; and on the 9th December of the following year, he was appointed by the House of Commons to decide on the orthodoxy and maintenance of the Lancashire ministers.

"At the massacre at Bolton, May 28th, 1644, the infuriated soldiery demanded the Puritan ministers, and especially the venerable pastor of Deane, exclaiming in thirst for revenge: 'O that we had that old rogue Horrocks that preaches in his grey cloake!'

"On the 13th December he was named in the ordinances for ordaining ministers in Lancashire, and in October, 1646, at which time he had superseded† Hardy in the vicarage of Deane, he is also named as one of the ministers in the Act of Parliament establishing the Presbyterian classes.

"In the succeeding year he appears as one of the Committee of Divines of the county of Lancaster, and from this time his name frequently occurs in the minutes of the second or Bury classes.

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* Croston errs here, reference to the document will shew Horrocks signed only as Clerk of Deane.

† Strange to say, Hardy, at this time, had been dead three years, and, on October 10th, 1643, Tilsley appointed in his place, as will appear in due course.

"In 1648 he signed the 'Harmonious Consent,' describing himself as 'Minister of the Gospel at Deane,' his signature being followed by that of his former curate, John Tilsley, who had then become vicar, Horrocks, who was then becoming advanced in years, having relinquished the spiritual charge of Deane,* and retired to Westhoughton.

"Both of them signed the strictures on the pamphlet called 'The Agreement of the People,' in the following year, though the order of their names was reversed, he being then at Westhoughton, where he was in 1650, when the Parliamentary commissioners made their survey of church livings in the county, and described as a godly orthodox divine.

"He died in the same year, at an advanced age, at Turton, and in accordance with his expressed desire was buried 'in the church of Bolton in my ancestors' burial'; his will, which is dated July 10th, 1650, was proved on the 27th of December in the same year."

Turning to the next curate, Thomas Johnson, he would appear to have been, at the time of the protestation, curate at Deane; while James Walton, it will be seen later on, was the curate of Horwich.

Of Tilsley it is said by Bailey, who has left us an account of his life, an interesting work to be seen in the Reference Library, Manchester, that "his earliest employment in the ministry was at the church of Deane, as curate to the vicar, the Rev. Alexander Horrocks, with whom, says Calamy, he was 'as Timothy to Paul, a son of the Gospel.'"

Here Bailey, like Croston, errs in styling Horrocks vicar of Deane; comparatively fresh from college at the time named, Tilsley in all probability was placed under the guidance of the curate of Westhoughton, waiting the opportunity of a more prominent appointment, and for this he had not long to wait.

Marrying, in January, 1643, Margaret, the daughter of Ralph Chetham, brother of Humphrey the Benefactor, he next month left Deane to join, as chaplain, the Parliamentary forces under Sir John Seaton, then on their way from Manchester to capture Preston, held by the Royalists.

The battle ending in favour of the Parliamentarians, Tilsley wrote what is termed a "Jubilant Letter," which, published

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* Here again Croston errs, for, as we say in last foot-note, Tilsley had been vicar since October, 1643.

immediately in London, may be said to have gained for him the living of Deane a few months after, Vicar Hardy having died in the interval, as notified in a joint ordinance of the two Houses of Parliament dated October 10th, 1643, appointing young Tilsley his successor.

Unacquainted with this interesting ordinance, a transcript of which we purpose appending when we come to speak of Tilsley's vicariate, historians have been much perplexed to learn what became of Vicar Hardy after he signed the National Protestation, and who succeeded him.

Croston, in his edition of Baines, says "Mr. Hardy did not long enjoy possession; the times were full of trouble, and as he was a staunch Episcopalian, he was deprived when the Presbyterians gained the ascendancy, and his curate, Alexander Horrocks, who had officiated at Westhoughton, was appointed by the Parliamentary party in his stead."

Bailey, in his life of Tilsley, informs us that "Calamy says Tilsley succeeded Horrocks; and while Baines makes Norris vicar of Deane, Walker curiously enough (vol. 2, p. 84) makes Mr. Anderton, the impropriator of the tithes, the vicar, adding that in 1643 one J.T. [Tilsley] was thrust upon the parishioners."

Whittle, omitting Tilsley's name from his list of Deane vicars, makes Alexander Norris* the successor of Richard Hardy.

The Dictionary of National Biography tells us Tilsley became curate to Alexander Horrocks, vicar of Deane.

In Barton's Historical Gleanings, vol. 3, p. 56, we are informed that "Alexander Horrocks is generally supposed to have been vicar of Deane at the time of the memorable siege of Bolton in 1644, during the great Civil War, though a note in Palmer's MSS. records Alexander Norris as filling the vicarship in that year."

"However, whether vicar or curate," continues Barton, "it is certain that Mr. Horrocks preached the Gospel at Deane about that time, and continued to do so till his death in 1650, when the Rev. John Tilsley was appointed to the church at Deane."

Glad to see these conflicting statements disposed of once and for all, let us return to the last year of Vicar Hardy's vicariate.

During the terrible civil war which terminated in the death of the royal patron, Parliament slowly resolved itself into two factions; the one Presbyterians, desirous of limiting the power of

* He was treasurer of the Lancashire Presbyterian Committee.

the king; the other Independents, bent upon the destruction of the throne.

At Bolton and Deane the sympathies of the people, as a whole, were with Parliament; not in antagonism to royalty, but because of the suspicion that Charles secretly befriended Popery.

On the 12th of June, 1643, Parliament passed an ordinance directing the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines and others, to be consulted with by Parliament for settling the government and liturgy of the Church of England.

This body of "Godly Divines," known as the "Westminster Assembly," held its first meeting in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, on the 1st of July, the following month.

It was composed of 121 divines elected by the two Houses of Parliament, besides six deputies from Scotland, ten English peers, and twenty representatives of the Commons.

Among the number were Richard Heyricke, M.A., warden of Manchester, and a few bishops, but the majority of them were Puritans and favoured Presbyterianism.

Following the advice of the Assembly, Parliament passed successively the ordinances for church government.

And it was within a few months after the assembling of these divines that Vicar Hardy passed away and was succeeded by John Tilsley.

JOHN TILSLEY, 1643-63.

Vicar Tilsley, as already intimated, was appointed to the living of Deane by a Joint Ordinance, as Acts of Parliament were then called, of the two Houses of Parliament, dated October 10th, 1643.

This ordinance is reported in the House of Lords Journals, vol. 6, page 252, as follows:—

"A message brought up from the House of Commons by Sir Walter Erle, knight, and others:—

"To desire their lordships' concurrence in an ordinance touching allowance to two ministers to two Chapels of Ease within the parish church of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, etc.

"Agreed to.

"Whereas the said rectory of Deane church, within the county of Lancaster, being an impropriation of all tithes whatsoever belonging unto Christopher Anderton, of Lostock, in the said county, Esq., who is a Papist, and one that hath much assisted the forces

raised against Parliament, for which the said rectory, together with his other lands, is sequestered, and whereas the said parish church of Deane hath only ten pounds per annum belonging unto the vicar, *who is lately dead.*

"And two chapels within the said parish have no means to maintain preaching ministers; and the people there, by the sad distractions of the said county are much impoverished and plundered, so as they are not able to maintain ministers at their own charge.

"It is therefore, by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, ordered and ordained,

"That Mr. John Tilsley, a godly, learned, and orthodox divine (being approved by some of the Assembly of Divines appointed for that purpose) be vicar of the said parish and parish church of Deane, and cure for the discharge of the cure of the said church in all the duties thereof,

"And shall have for his pains therein sixty pounds per annum; and to the several chapels of [West] Houghton and Horwige, in the said parish, to either of them twenty pounds per annum; which said sum of one hundred pounds shall be paid upon every first day of February and first of August, by equal portions, out of the sequestration of the said rectory of Deane church, by those officers that are appointed for the receiving of the profits of the said sequestration; and the acquittances under the hands of the several ministers who are to receive the same shall be their sufficient discharge."

Mr. J. E. Bailey, of Manchester, who wrote an account of Vicar Tilsley's life, tells us that "he was one of the most prominent ministers in the county of Lancaster during the civil war and interregnum, and is chiefly distinguished by his successful advocacy and establishment of Presbyterianism in the southern part of the county.

"The facts of his life," continues Bailey, "are here for the first time presented, and are given in detail on account of the light they throw on the history of the time.

"Tilsley was a native of Lancashire, which he calls 'my dear mother and nurse'; there is no evidence at hand of his parentage, but several circumstances point to the neighbourhood of Bolton as the place of his origin.

"By following Oliver Heywood rather than Calamy, who is incorrect, the year of Tilsley's birth must be placed in 1614.

"In due time he was sent to the University of Edinburgh, then frequented by many youths whose parents were unwilling to make use of English Universities.

"Johannes Tilsley was laureated [made M.A.] on the 22nd July, 1637; as his name does not appear in the Scotch Fasti, it is clear he was ordained in England.

"The Houses of Parliament on December 13th, 1644, appointed twenty-one ministers, of whom Horrocks and Tilsley were two, for ordaining ministers in the county of Lancaster."

In 1645, Vicar Tilsley appears to have recovered possession of the vicarage house, which, with the tithes and glebe land, had been in the hands of the impropriator just upon a century.

This the Committee for Plundered Ministers authorised on November, 21st, 1645, by resolution as follows:—

"Resolved that the house of Ralph Heaton, within the parish of Deane church, heretofore parcel of the glebe of the church, and now sequestered from the said Ralph Heaton, shall be settled upon Mr. Tilsley, vicar thereof, for the habitation of the said Mr. Tilsley, his means being very small, and that it be reported to the House [of Commons]." Lanc. and Ches. Society, vol. 28, page 10.

Speaking of the Committee for the relief of Plundered Ministers, Shaw, in Lanc. and Ches. Records Society, vol. 28, tells us that

"It was not until after the outbreak of the great civil war in 1642, and until the consequent plundering and raiding by the armies on either side, that the attention of the House of Commons was called to the cases of Puritan ministers disturbed or plundered or ejected by the Royalist army in various parts of the country.

"In December, 1642, the House appointed a committee to consider the fittest way for the relief of such good and well-affected ministers as have been plundered, and likewise to consider what malignant persons have benefices whose livings being sequestered, these may supply their cures and receive profits."

"Tilsley's interest in the civil war," says Bailey, "is shewn by his being present with Sir John Seaton's forces when that officer went from Manchester with his newly raised dragoons and captured Preston on the 9th of February, 1643.

"He wrote a jubilant letter concerning the affair, which was published in London; it is to be seen in the Civil Tracts.

"This letter is described as coming from a worthy minister, an eye-witness thereof, to an eminent divine in London."

Ormerod, the able historian of Cheshire, editing these tracts, in Chetham Society's vol. 2, appends to his work a copy of Tilsley's letter, as under :—

"Preston, Feb. 11th, 1642 [-3].

"Worthy Sir,

"Be pleased to accept this poor rude paper, it is a messenger sent to tell you good tydings;

"We have assaulted and taken Preston.

"We were about 900 or 1,000 firemen, horse and foot, and about 600 bill-men, halberdiers, and club-men.

"Our march in the night was tedious, especially to many who had marched the night before, and to accommodate us in that, God gave us a faire night such as had not beene of a space before, yea and indeed the day forerunning threatened us a very foule night; this was of God.

"Our men assaulted it a litte before sunrising; in an hour's time they were masters of it; it was well fortified with brick walls outer and inner; our men fell on with notable resolution.

"Captain John Booth scaled the walls, bidding his soldiers either follow him, or give him up, but they forgetting their owne safety followed him.

"The garrison fought it out stoutly; they kept their inner works with push of spike, and also the breach they kept with their swords, which aggravated the matter.

"We have not lost above three or four men (very strange) falling upon them in their workes; of theirs I saw lying in one street end at least five or six, besides other parts of the town severall, and many in the houses, not calling for quarter.

"And as if men must have been singled out for slaughter we could scarce have picked out better, the mayor that was so resolute to desperateness in the cause, that had oftentimes been heard to sweare 'he would fire the towne ere he gave it up, and beginne with his own house,' was slain, and that very day he had appointed to constrain the well-affected, or to have seiz'd on their estates; Sir Gilbert Houghton's brother, a captain and a desperate Papist; Mr. Westley, a physician and a desperate Papist; a sergeant to the freehold, that lately came out of Ireland, a most wicked wretch, were of the number slain.

"Several of our men, but none mortally (it's notable), are shot in two or three places, and neither to death nor dangerously.

"We have taken some prisoners of note, Captain Farington, Sir John Talbot's son, one Fleetwood, and they say Anderton of Clayton, if so I assure you he is one of the most considerable men for estate and activity in the county, and many others with arms, and a large part of things justly, and by plunder (alas that it is so much lamented but most hard to be prevented), seized on; more prisoners of note we had been possessed of, but that honest flight rescued them.

"The fruit of this design is not yet perceived, but will shine forth more and more I am confident.

"It blocks up the way that all the north-east part of Lancashire, where were the chief malignants and the cream of the earl's forces; yea and indeed they will come in (I am persuaded and partly perceive all ready) and subscribe to the proposition.

"So soon as matters were settled we sung praises to God in the streets (sir, it was wonderfull to see it), the sun broke forth and shined brightly and hot, in the time of the exercise, as if it had been midsummer.

"Truly sir, we owe (subordinate to God), a great deal to Sir John Seaton; things are artificially and methodically done, past what they were before; he is a man of wonderful care and unwearied industry, onely rather too harsh for our northern knotty rigged dispositions; had he the meek spirit and smooth tongue of S. M. Sparrow, he were peerlesse, and without parallel doubtlesse.

"Sir, I am in haste just come from Preston, and the post about to take horse, pardon my rudeness and brevity; onely I beseech you assist us in praises that we may not loose God for want of praises, and pray for us that plunder cry not louder for justice than prayer for mercy.

"Remember my love and service to your wife.

"Farewell is the wish of

"Your humble servant and respected friend,

"JOHN TILSLEY."

"Postscript:

"Anderton of Clayton is out of question taken also, he with Captain Farington came this night to Preston.

"The sergeant, mentioned before, was an Irish rebell, and Fleetwood before mentioned was he that killed the man in Manchester at that time the earl came thither, a little before the late siege."

"London, printed by J.R. for Luke Fawn, Feb. 14th, 1642 [-3].

Ormerod adds in a foot-note :—

"This account by the Vicar of Deane contains several particulars not contained in other contemporary accounts of the same event which follow it, and is taken from a broadside in the collection of Miscellaneous Sheets in the British Museum (king's collection).

"Both are blended together in the account given in Vicar's Parliamentary Chronicle, part i. (God in the Mount), p. 268."

CHAPTER LXV.

TURNING to the other account alluded to by Ormerod, we learn from it that there were foot companies from Bolton with Sir John Seaton's forces; and speaking of one of the prominent prisoners mentioned by Tilsley, it says: "Old Master Anderton of Clayton (their great popish commander) is taken."

The publication of Tilsley's letter may probably have prompted Parliament to make the better provision for the ill-paid ministers of Deane found in the following ordinance dated 29th of June, 1643, namely:—

"Whereas the rectory of Deane Church, within the County of Lancaster, being an impropriation of all tythes whatsoever, is now sequestered; and that as well the said parish church, as several chapels within the said parish, have not any means to maintain preaching ministers.

"And the people, by the said distractions of that county much impoverished, having been much plundered, so as they are not able to maintain ministers at their own charge.

"It is ordered by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, that out of the tythes and other profits belonging to the rectory of the said parish of Deane Church there be paid, upon the first day of October next, unto the minister of the said Deane Church, twenty pounds; and unto the minister of Houghton Chapel twenty pounds; and to the minister of Horwitch Chapel ten pounds.

"And an acquitance, under the several ministers' hands, for the said sums shall be a sufficient discharge unto the collectors or other officers that shall account for the same."

"Tilsley in 1646," says the Dictionary of National Biography, "joined with Heyrick and Hollinworth and others in petitioning Parliament to set up an ecclesiastical government in Lancashire, according to the advice of the Assembly of Divines, and in the same year wrote a vindication of the petition and its promoters, in answer to a pamphlet in the independent interest, entitled 'A New Birth of the City Remonstrance.'

"Parliament answered the petition by establishing Presbyterianism in Lancashire, by an ordinance dated 2nd of October, 1646, and Tilsley became a principal member of the Bolton, or second classis."

"For the promoting of this public work," says Martindale in his diary, "three very worthy ministers of great abilities, piety, and interest, were deeply engaged—Mr. Harrison of Ashton-under-Line, Mr. Hollinworth of Manchester, and Mr. Tilsley of Deane.

"The number of classis into which the County of Lancaster was divided was nine." Deane, Bolton, Middleton, Bury, Rochdale, and Radcliffe came under the second of these classis, with a representation of ten ministers and twenty-two laymen. The former included Vicar Tilsley and the ministers of Westhoughton and Horwich—Alex. Horrocks and James Walton.

The meetings were held first at Bury and afterwards at Bolton.

Returning to the Dictionary of National Biography, "Tilsley signed the intolerant 'Harmonious Consent' of the ministers of Lancashire in 1648, and the answer to the paper called the "Agreement of the People' in 1649."

Written by Heyrick, the "Harmonious Consent" denounced in no measured terms the notion of "an universal toleration of the pernicious errors, blasphemous and heretical doctrines, broached in these times."

"Tilsley," says Croston, "was a bold and uncompromising Presbyterian; if he disliked Episcopacy, he hated Independency."

Here it may be well to say that while the Presbyterians were desirous only of limiting the power of the king, and doing away with Episcopacy, the Independents were bent upon the destruction of the throne.

"And when," continues Croston, "the Independents had gained the ascendancy [in Cromwell's time], he [Tilsley] had rather an unpleasant time of it, being ejected from Deane [in 1650] for having refused, like many other Presbyterians, to take the engagement, believing it to be a prejudice to the right heir to the crown."

This took place the year following the execution of King Charles, and "the engagement" that Tilsley refused to sign was fidelity to Cromwell's Government.

Ormerod in his Civil Tracts, Baines in his Lancashire, and Clegg in his Annals of Bolton, agree in the information that Tilsley, in addition to being "thrice ejected from Deane, was once imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower."

Of the date of this imprisonment we are not informed, and can only suppose it followed upon Tilsley's refusal to sign "the engagement"; nor can we say at what time he was permitted to resume his duties at Deane.

We learn, however, from his own lips that at the time of his rejection his stipend was considerably in arrear, evidently owing to an appeal made by Christopher Anderton to the Barons of the Exchequer to be freed from the sequestration of his lands and his tithes.

While awaiting the result of this appeal, Anderton died in London July 7th, 1650, before it was determined.

Francis, his son and heir, however, petitioned the court on the 11th of the following February, and had on July 18th of the same year, 1651, all his father's estate, including the tithes, restored to him, and was authorised "to receive all arrears due and payable the 24th of June then last."

"Whereby," says Tilsley, in a petition to the commissioners at this time, "he [Tilsley] was disabled from receiving all that was in arrear to him for the time then past, and the sum of £100 due to him for that year, and which he was to have received altogether at harvest then coming, out of the tithes, and therefore prayed their order for receiving the said arrears due to him since August, 1649."

This we learn from Tilsley's second petition to the commissioners, dated April 24th, 1655, four years after the first one, when, under a new Parliament, the "engagement" had been withdrawn.

Singular to say, Tilsley's first petition would have been complied with had he but consented to the "engagement," for he goes on to say:

"The then commissioners ordered that all the arrears of the £100 per annum due to him should be paid to him, he first taking the 'engagement,' but not being satisfied in his conscience concerning the 'engagement,' he did not take the money, and thus lost the benefit of the order.

"The 'engagement' having been subsequently dispensed with, and as he had not refused to take the money from any 'disaffection' towards Parliament, and had engaged two ministers, who supplied the chapels of [West] Houghton and Horwich, paying them £20 a year each, he prayed that an order might issue directing the Lancashire commissioners to pay him what arrears were owing."

Whether or no Vicar Tilsley succeeded this time in getting paid the arrears of his stipend we are unable to say. We know, however, that the restoration of the tithes, etc., to the Anderton family did away with all the special grants by Parliament towards the stipend, and thus reduced it to the £10 per annum of olden time.

Further sums were, however, voted later on out of the tithes of other parishes. In 1656 we find Cromwell's Council approving of grants to ministers of four Lancashire parishes, Deane being one. The order in council is dated March 27th, 1656, and reads as follows:—

"At the council at Whitehall, whereas the trustees for maintenance have presented for the approbation of his highness and the council their augmentations following viz.:

"In the County of Lancaster:

"To the minister of		Warrington	£30	per ann.
"	"	Hindley	10	"
"	"	Deane	30	"
"	"	Ringley	18	"

"His highness and the council doe approve of the said several augmentations, and order that the same bee paid accordingly.

"HEN. SCOBELL, clerke of the council."

Thus approved, the trustees, on the 5th of June following, made the grant to the minister of Deane, payable as follows:—

"Ordered that the yearly sum of £30 bee and the same is hereby granted to the minister of Deane Church, in the County of Lancaster, for increase of his maintenance, his highness and councell having approved of the said grant, and that the same bee from time to time paid unto Mr. John Tildesley, minister of Deane Church, in the county aforesaid, out of the profitts impropriate Rectory Wharton, in the county aforesaid.

"The same to be accompted from the 25th of March last and to bee from time to time continued and paid to the said Mr. Tildesley for such time as he shall discharge the duty of the minister of the said place or further order of these trustees." Vide Lanc. and Ches. Society's vol. 34 (1897).

From the same source we also learn of a further grant to Mr. Tilsley, made the 23rd of December, 1659, in terms as follow:—

"Whereas the vicarage of the parish church of Deane, in the County of Lancaster doth not exceed the yearly value of £10, in pursuance of an order of the Committee for Plundered Ministers in that behalfe, it is ordered that the yearly sum of £20 be added to the yearly sum of £30 already in pay to the minister of the said parish church, and granted to and for increase of the maintenance of such godly and pious preacher of the Gospel as shall be from time to time settled minister of the said parish church and duly approved of as by the said committee is directed, and that

the same be paid out of the rents and profits of the tithes of Rochdale in the said county to Mr. Tildesley, present minister there, to hold from the 25th of December last for such time as he shall continue faithfully to discharge the duty of the minister of the said place or further order, and that Mr. Robert Stockdale, receiver, doe pay the same unto him accordingly."

"Two notable funeral sermons," says Bailey, "were preached by Tilsley; one at the interment of the Rev. W. Rathbund, at Cockey, on 1 Cor., 3, 10; and the other at Bolton Church, at the interment of Col. Robert Bradshaw, eminent for his piety and valour in the time of the war. He was a younger brother of John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw Hall, Bolton."

Tilsley, in July, 1650, also preached the funeral sermon of Alexander Horrocks, minister of West Houghton, and was very eager that Oliver Heywood, who had recently left college, should fill the vacancy caused by the death of that minister. Oliver, however, preferred the living of Coley Chapel, near Halifax, which had just before been offered to him.

"By his will, dated 16th of December, 1651," we further learn from Bailey, "Humphrey Chetham made Tilsley one of the feoffees of his proposed hospitals.

"He also nominated him one of the persons to purchase godly English books proper for the edification of the common people for church libraries at Manchester, Walmsley, and Gorton, for which £200 was bequeathed.

"And he was also one of those named to form the library in the town of Manchester for the use of scholars and others well affected.

"The same will has this bequest: 'To my cousin Margaret, now wife of the said John Tilsley, £200.'"

Humphrey Chetham died 12th of October, 1653.

The following is a transcript of a letter of administration, preserved in Deane vestry, issued at this time from Westminster, in Oliver Cromwell's name:—

"Oliver Lord Protector of the Common Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and ye Dominions thereto belonging. To George Groome, ye natural, lawful, and only sonne and child of Robert Groome late of Westhoughton in ye County of Lancaster, widdower deceased. Greeting. Whereas the sd deceased dyed without making any Will, wee doe therefore hereby give and grant unto you ye sd George Groome full power thereby to collect all and singular ye

goods and chattles and debts of ye sd deceased, and well and faithfully to dispose of ye same, and to demand collect every, and in legal manner as required and ordained, all and all manner of debts due and owing to ye sd deceased, and out of ye goods, chattles, and debts of ye sd deceased which have, shall, or may come to your hands or possession well and truely to pay the debts due by ye sd deceased so farr as ye same goods and chattles will stand and as ye Law will charge you according to ye fixed value and sum thereof, you having first in due forme of law taken your oath well and truely to administer ye same and to make a true and correct account of all and singular the goods, chattles, and debts of ye sd deceased which have, shall, or may come to your hands, possession, or knowledge. And alsoe attend in due manners upon your said administration. And to exhibit them both unto ye judge of ye court for probate of Wills and granting administration lawfully authorised, which touching our fuero* you are assigned to put forward at or before the last day of the month of December next ensuing. And an account when you shall be thereunto lawfully required. And lastly wee doe hereby constitute, ordaine, and appointe you the sd George Groome administrator of all and singular the goods, chattels, and debts of ye sd deceased. Given at Westm. [Westminster] under ye seal of ye Court for probate of Wills and granting Adm. the thirteenth day of November in ye yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty fower [1654].

"Wm. Jones [Scribe]. Mark Cottle, Reg.

"B. Sankey [Examiner]."

In 1655 there were negociations about Mr. Tilsley's removal to Newcastle-on-Tyne. At a meeting of the second classis, at Bolton, 10th of December of that year, a letter was read from Newcastle desiring that Tilsley might go to be pastor of St. Nicholas' parish church there.

The Manchester classis, consulted by the Bolton classis, reported that they "doe conceive itt will be most for the glory of God and good of the church" that he should go.

His own classis, however, promptly resolved that he should stay at Deane. Hereupon Tilsley appealed to the Provincial Assembly.

On the 10th of March, 1656, his appeal was, according to the minutes of Bolton classis, 'delivered in,' but nothing more is said of this matter, and Tilsley continued to attend the meetings.

* Jurisdiction (vide Imperial Dictionary).

The Dictionary of National Biography, referring to the same matter, says:

"Tilsley seemed inclined in 1655 to accept an invitation to Newcastle, but pressure was brought upon him to stay at Deane Church, where he remained until his ejection by the Act of Uniformity in 1662."

Let us now for a moment or two consider the doings of Parliament since the unfortunate execution of King Charles.

The party then in power consisted only of the Independents and Sectaries, supported by Cromwell's soldiers.

Directly after the execution the Commons voted that "the House of Lords is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished."

In 1653, the army becoming dissatisfied with the conduct of Parliament, Cromwell went to the House and expelled the members. "This done, Cromwell and the officers appointed a new Council of State, which, in place of a Parliament, chose an assembly of 140 nominees from names sent in by the various Independent ministers," and it became known as the Barebone Parliament, after a member of that name.

Its members were animated by the best intentions, but they had no knowledge of statesmanship.

Many of their reforms were good, but many were too violent for Cromwell. The army was dissatisfied, and the members resigned their power into Cromwell's hands.

Upon this, in December, 1653, the Council of Officers, by the Instrument of Government, made Cromwell Lord Protector, with a council of twenty-one persons.

The first Parliament was to meet in September, 1654, so that till it met Cromwell and the Council had sole power.

"The series of administrative reforms planned by the Convention," says Green, "had been partially carried into effect before the meeting of Parliament in 1654; but the work was pushed on after the dissolution of the House with greater energy.

"The anarchy which had reigned in the church since the breakdown of the Episcopacy, and the failure of the Presbyterian system to supply its place, was put an end to by a series of wise and temperate measures for its reorganisation.

"Rights of patronage were left untouched; but a Board of Triers, a fourth of whom were laymen, was appointed to examine the fitness of ministers presented to livings; and a Church Board of gentry and clergy was set up in every county to exercise a

supervision over ecclesiastical affairs, and to detect and remove scandalous and ineffectual ministers.

"It furnished the country with able, serious preachers, Baxter tells us, and both Presbyterian and Independent ministers were presented to livings, at the will of their patrons.

"On September 3rd, 1654, the first Protectorate Parliament met, and it was the first in our history, where members from Scotland and Ireland sate side by side with those in England, as they sit in the Parliament of to-day.

"The freedom with which the electors had exercised their right of voting was seen, indeed, in the large number of Presbyterian members who were returned.

"When the Parliament met, the extreme Republicans insisted upon debating the advisability of governing by a single person; but Cromwell saw in the joint government of a 'single person and a parliament' the only assurance that Parliament should not make themselves perpetual, or that their power should not be perverted to public wrong.

"And he announced that no members would be suffered to enter the House without signing an engagement 'not to alter the government as it is settled in a single person and a parliament.'

"Three-fourths of the House signed the engagement and resumed their constitutional task, while the rest, refusing to sign, were excluded.

"At length, however, after a stormy session, Parliament was dissolved in January, 1655."

CHAPTER LXVI.

"ON 1656 Cromwell again called a Parliament, as he did not wish," says Ransome, "to be an arbitrary ruler. To avoid the difficulties of the last Parliament, above ninety Republicans and Presbyterians were not allowed to take their seats."

This seems to have given great offence to many of the leading Presbyterian ministers in Manchester and neighbourhood, and, displaying much opposition to the Government, some of them were sent to prison.

Referring to this matter, Baines tells us: "The confiscation of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, in 1656, by the Parliament of the Commonwealth, and the preference given by that Parliament to Independents over the Presbyterians converted Mr. Heyricke, the warden, and Mr. Hollinworth, one of the fellows of the college, into decided enemies to the existing Government.

"This hostility was expressed so strongly that Mr. Heyricke, Mr. Heale, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Angier, Mr. Hollinworth, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Lee, Mr. Latham, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Meeke were imprisoned.

"The ministers and elders of Lancashire who had been seized remained many weeks in painful suspense, but were at length allowed, on paying divers fines, to return to their respective homes.

"An important era in the history of religion and politics had now arrived. Parties that had hitherto been arrayed against each other in the bitterest hostility began to unite.

"The Independents and the Presbyterians became dissatisfied with the Rump Parliament, and collected under Richard Cromwell. They complained that the army, having become rampant, had put down kingly government, abolished the House of Lords, and excluded the most worthy members of the House of Commons; that divers of the ministers of the classis were hurried about and imprisoned at Liverpool and Ormskirk, not excepting even the peaceful Mr. Angier.

"To strengthen their cause, they made overtures to the Independents for the accomplishment of their long-existing differences; and these propositions, which ultimately led to the former community being merged, in a considerable degree, in the latter, were discussed and agreed upon at Manchester in July, 1659.

"The Presbyterians and Independents having made common cause with the Royalists, the Commonwealth was subverted, and Charles II. placed on the throne of his ancestors.

"The hierarchy being restored, the classical assemblies of Lancashire were dissolved, and the last of their meetings took place on the 14th of August, 1660, after having existed fourteen years."

Here Baines has been speaking of the years 1656-60. Let us briefly supplement his remarks with a few additional particulars referring to that important period in our country's history.

In 1658, Parliament, called together in 1656, was dissolved, after which Cromwell's health, failing long before, grew rapidly worse, and, now worn out by anxiety, he died the same year.

"Great decision and energy," says Collier, "marked the character of Oliver Cromwell. He disliked all show and ceremony his look was harsh and forbidding; his manner, to the last, blunt and clownish; but within his rugged frame there burned a great and—let us believe—a truly religious soul."

On Cromwell's death, the Council of State declared his son Richard Protector, and his accession passed off without disturbance; but when his Parliament met, the old discussion broke out, and he dissolved it.

The soldiers then took matters into their own hands, and recalled the remains of the Long Parliament, known as "The Rump," whereupon Richard retired to his farms at Cheshunt, and there lived the peaceful life of a country gentleman until his death in 1712.

Returning to Collier, he tells us: "Disunion in the army saved the country. General Monk [Cromwell's officer in Scotland] marched from Scotland to London [where he arrived February 3rd, 1660] with 7,000 troops, and great was the joy of the nation when he declared for a free Parliament.

"The Lords and Commons met at Westminster on April 25th, 1660, the latter House composed chiefly of Royalists and Presbyterians.

"An old leader of the moderate Presbyterians, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, was elected Speaker in the room of his predecessor Lenthall."

Parliament at once determined to recall the late king's son, Charles II., who, informed of the event, entered London May 29th, 1660, amidst the greatest enthusiasm. He had been abroad since he was twenty-one.

With the Restoration came, we had always understood, the downfall of Puritanism.

"As a political experiment it had," says Green, "ended in utter failure and disgust.

"As a religious system of national life it brought about the wildest outbreak of moral revolt that England has ever witnessed.

"And yet Puritanism was," continues Green, "far from being dead; it drew, indeed, a nobler life from its very fall.

"Nothing aids us better to trace the real course of Puritanism than the thought of the two great works which have handed down, from one generation to another, its highest and noblest spirit.

"From that time to this the most popular of all religious books has been the Puritan allegory of the 'Pilgrim's Progress': the most popular of all English poems has been the Puritan epic of the 'Paradise Lost'"; the former the work of Bunyan, the latter of Milton.

Proceeding, Green refers in touching language to Milton's pleading for religious freedom, for freedom for social life, and freedom for the press; to his becoming Latin secretary to the Protector, Cromwell, in spite of a blindness brought on by intensity of study: to his imprisonment after the Restoration, and, as age drew on, selling his library for subsistence; to the grace and geniality of his youth disappearing in the drudgery of a schoolmaster's life; and to the revolt of his daughters, forced to read to their blind father in languages they could not understand.

"But," continues Green, "solitude and misfortune only brought out into bolder relief Milton's inner greatness. He listened every morning to a chapter of the Hebrew Bible, and, after musing in silence for a while, pursued his studies till mid-day.

"Then he took exercise for an hour, played for another hour on the organ or viol, and renewed his studies.

"The evening was spent in converse with visitors and friends; for lonely and unpopular as Milton was, there was one thing about him which made his house in Bunhill Fields [London] a place of pilgrimage to the wits of the Restoration: he was the last of the Elizabethans.

"It was now, in his blindness and old age, that the genius of Milton took refuge in the great poem on which, through years of silence, his imagination had still been brooding.

"Seven years after the Restoration, appeared the 'Paradise Lost,' and four years later the 'Paradise Regained.'

"The whole genius of Milton expressed itself in the 'Paradise Lost," the sublimity of conception, the loftiness of phrase which he owed to the Bible, blended in this story of man's first disobedience, and the fruit of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe.

"But it is not with the literary value of 'Paradise Lost' that we are here concerned; its historic importance lies in this—that it is the epic of Puritanism.

"Its scheme is the problem with which the Puritan wrestled in hours of gloom and darkness, the problem of sin and redemption, of the world struggle of evil against good.

"The intense moral concentration of the Puritan had given an almost bodily shape to spiritual abstraction before Milton gave life and being to the forms of sin and death.

"It was the Puritan tendency to mass into one vast body of sin the various forms of human evil, and by the very force of a passionate hatred to exaggerate their magnitude and their power, to which we owe the conception of Milton's Satan.

"The greatness of the Puritan aim in the long and wavering struggle for justice and law and a higher good; the grandeur of character which the contest developed; the colossal forms of good and evil which moved over its stage; the debates and conspiracies and battles which had been men's life for twenty years; the mighty eloquence and mightier ambition which the war had aroused into being—all left their mark on the 'Paradise Lost.'

"Whatever was highest and best in the Puritan temper spoke in the nobleness and elevation of the poem, in its purity of tone, in its grandeur of conception, in its ordered and equable realisation of a great purpose.

"Whether he passes from Heaven to Hell or from the council hall of Satan to the sweet conference of Adam and Eve, his tread is steady and unfaltering.

"As in his earlier poems he had ordered and arranged nature, so in 'Paradise Lost' Milton orders and arranges Heaven and Hell.

"His mightiest figures, angel or archangel, Satan or Belial, stand out colossal but distinct.

"Individuality is nowhere so overpowering as in Milton; he leaves the stamp of himself deeply graven on all he creates; we hear his voice in every line of his poem."

Later on, after a further reference to Milton's great work, Green, alluding again to the fall of Puritanism, says:

"It was from the moment of its seeming fall that the real victory of Puritanism began.

"As soon as the wild orgy of the Restoration was over, men began to see that nothing that was really worthy in the work of Puritanism had been undone.

"The revels of Whitehall, the scepticism and debauchery of courtiers, the corruption of statesmen, left the mass of Englishmen what Puritanism had made them—serious, earnest, sober in life and conduct, firm in their love of Protestantism and of freedom."

And speaking of the king, Green tells us, "Charles hated business. He gave no sign of ambition. The one thing he seemed in earnest about was sensual pleasure, and he took his pleasure with a cynical shamelessness which roused the disgust even of his shameless courtiers.

"Mistress followed mistress, and the guilt of a troop of profligate women was emblazoned to the world by the gift of titles and estates. But Charles was far from being content with these recognised mistresses, or with a single form of self-indulgence.

"Gambling and drinking helped to fill up the vacant moments when he could no longer toy with his favourites or bet at Newmarket. No thought of remorse or of shame seems ever to have crossed his mind.

"'He could not think God would make a man miserable,' he said once, 'only for taking a little pleasure out of the way.' For shame, indeed, he was shielded by his cynical disbelief in human virtue. Virtue he regarded simply as a trick by which clever hypocrites imposed upon fools. Honour among men seemed to him as a mere pretence.

"In the Revolution of 1688, Puritanism did the work of civil liberty, which it had failed to do in that of 1642.

"It wrought out through Wesley and the revival of the eighteenth century the work of religious reform, which its earlier efforts had only thrown back for a hundred years.

"Slowly but steadily it introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics.

"The whole history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism."

The year following the king's return, Parliament was dissolved and a new one elected, consisting almost entirely of Royalists, and its first act was to reinstate the church in the position she held before the rebellion,

By the Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, all holders of benefices were required to be ordained by a bishop, to use only the Book of Common Prayer, and to take an oath that resistance to the king was unlawful.

This Act came into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1662, when Vicar Tilsley and the curates of Westhoughton and Horwich were ejected from their livings for nonconformity with the statute.

In all about 2,000 clergymen, some of them eminent for piety and learning, were expelled from their livings, and, continuing to call their followers together in some barn or large room, Parliament, in 1664, passed the Conventicle Act, which forbade all assemblies of worship other than those of the church.

Another measure, called the Five Mile Act, passed the following year, forbade expelled ministers to get their living by teaching in any public or private school, or to settle within five miles of any corporate town.

Tilsley, however, was allowed by the trustees to continue to reside at the vicarage house for many years, notwithstanding these Acts, "and his influence," says Bailey, "enabled him to retain some official position at Deane Church. Under Bishops Ferne and Hall he does not appear to have been allowed to exercise his vocation."

In November, 1666, however, John Wilkins succeeded to the see of Chester—a prelate not so severe as his predecessors against Nonconformists.

Martindale tells us that "the bishop resided at Wigan. He had a good opinion of some of us, and proposed terms to us, to which we returned a thankful answer."

Canon Parkinson, who edited Martindale's diary, adds in a foot-note to above that "Bishop Wilkins was married to Cromwell's sister, and held, while bishop, the living of Wigan."

Under this bishop, Tilsley was allowed to preach in his church again, as lecturer, until "the Archbishop of York took all power out of his hands, soon after which [November, 1672] honest Bishop Wilkins died."

The learned Pearson succeeded Wilkins, "whereupon," says Bailey, "Tilsley was indicted at the Assizes for nonconformity, and, by the influence of several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, ejected a third time in 1678. After this, he spent the rest of his days in a private life at Manchester.

"For many years Mr. Tilsley lived at his daughter's house in Manchester. She afterwards married a son of Charles Herle, prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines [and vicar of Winwick].

"On the death of Angier [vicar of Denton] in 1677, his son-in-law, Oliver Heywood, wrote his life; but for some reason its publication was not favoured by Tilsley, and Newcombe considered it imperfect, and it was not, indeed, published till 1685.

"Tilsley was intimate with Adam Martindale, and the latter terms him 'my cousin of Manchester.'

"Margaret Tilsley had become the wife of Mr. Joseph Hooper, a Manchester merchant. In the night of 21st January, 1684, Newcombe was called up to go to Mrs. Hooper, who was very ill. She was in child-bed, but after a few days fell ill, and died January 23rd; a very sad providence, her husband just gone from her; but especially for my friend Mr. Tilsley, who had now buried two of his daughters in half a year's time.

"The other was Elizabeth, the wife of Richard Percival, of Ollerton, from whom there are no descendants."

Drawing near to his end, Tilsley made his will as follows:—

[From Wills and Inventories, new series,
Chetham Soc., 3, p. 169.]

"In the name of God, Amen. The 25th day of November, in the year of our Lord God 1684, I, John Tilsley, of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, clerk, being sick in body, but of perfect memory, thanks be to God for the same, and calling to mind the uncertain estate of this transitory life, I do make, ordain, constitute, and declare this my last will and testament, in manner and form following (that is to say), first and principally I commend my soul to Almighty God, my Creator, assuredly believing that I shall receive full pardon and remission of all my sins, by the precious death and merits of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and my body to the earth from whence it came, to be buried in such decent and Christian manner as to my executors hereafter herein named shall be thought meet and convenient.

"And as for touching and concerning such worldly estate as God of his infinite goodness hath bestowed upon me, I do order and dispose thereof in manner and form following."

The will is an exceedingly long one, and among his numerous bequests we find the following referring to parishioners of Deane:—

"To Richard Harrison of Heaton, Marjerry Morris of Rumworth, to each twenty shillings apiece.

"Item to the poor of Deane Parish the sum of £20, especial respect being had to the poor of Westhoughton and Rumworth."

He appoints Richard Percival, his son-in-law, and Mrs. Mary Partington, his daughter, his executors, and adds: "My will is that there shall be no doal at my funeral."

The will was proved at Chester, 13th of June, 1685.

"Tilsley's death," continues Bailey, "took place on the 12th of December, 1684. Under date of Friday, 12th of December, Newcome writes: 'At night my dear friend Mr. Tilsley died; went with him to his grave at Dean, December 16th. I after (as he desired) preached to his children upon Hebrews xiij., 7, 8.'

"The entry of his funeral describes him as 'Johannes Tilsley de Manchester et olim [in time past] de Deane, Presbyter.'"

His decease is noticed by Martindale, among other deaths that occurred about the same time of learned and profitable preachers, viz., Mr. Bell of Huyton, Mr. Bradshaw of Darcy Lever—these three being "very eminent."

Heywood applies to Tilsley the epithet "an admirable man."

He was buried beneath the old yew tree in the churchyard, beside his wife, and the following inscription was placed on his gravestone:—

"HERE LYETH THE BODY
OF JOHN TILSLEY, CLERK,
MASTER-OF-ARTS, AND
SOMETIMES VICAR OF
DEANE, WHICH WAS
INTERRED THE 16TH DAY
OF DECEMBER,
1684."

Calamy, who derived his account of Tilsley from one of Tilsley's friends, speaks of his high, even stupendous qualifications for his ministerial work. He says: "He had prodigious parts, a retentive memory which made whatsoever he read his own, a solid judgement, a quick invention, warm affections, and a ready utterance. He was strict in his life, and free and familiar in his discourse."

CHAPTER LXVII.

JOHN ANGIER, 1663-72.

VICAR ANGIER was appointed to Deane by Charles II., in succession to Mr. Tilsley, ejected, as we have already seen, for nonconformity, and, instituted June 20th 1663, was inducted by the Vicar of Eccles on the 14th of the following month.

These particulars are found in a neatly-written Latin note made by the vicar, in the burial portion of the parish registers, when he entered upon his duties at Deane.

Translated, the note reads as follows :—

"The names of those buried at this our parish church of Deane in the year of our salvation 1663, and in the month of August in the same year, after I received the whole register of the church from the hands of the parish clerk preceding.

"I, John Angier, Vicar of Deane, presented by the most serene King Charles II., dated the 18th day of June in the 14th year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1663, and instituted by the reverend father and lord in Christ, the Lord George, by divine permission the Bishop of Chester, on the 20th day of the same month of June aforesaid, and lawfully inducted by the reverend man Robert Hartley, Vicar of Eccles, on the 14th day of July A.D. 1663."

Including Oliver Cromwell's time, Vicar Angier here calculates the patron's reign from the death of Charles I., his father, in 1649, instead of from 1660, the year of the Restoration.

Before coming to Deane, Vicar Angier had been Presbyterian pastor of Ringley Chapel, the place of his father's first ministry, but whether or no he had renounced his Presbyterian ordination does not appear.

"The Chapel of Ringley was built in 1625 by Nathan Walworth, of London, for the good and ease of the hamlet of Outwood in Prestwich parish; and for the inhabitants of Kearsalley [Kersley], in the parish of Deane; and have all of them repaired thither ever since said chapel was erected, and they are fit to be annexed to the parish of Prestwich." Church Surveys 1649-55.

And in the minutes of the Council, dated 4th of January, 1658, it is ordered :

"That the hamlet of Kersley and the messuages, lands, and tenements thereto belonging be and stand severed and divided from the parish of Deane."

A native of Boston, as intimated in Vicar Clegge's time, Angier was about a year old when, in 1630, his father, also named John, removed to Ringley Chapel with Ellen his wife, a lady from the neighbourhood of Wigan.

After officiating for about a year and a half, his father was suspended a third time from Ringley Chapel by Bishop Bridgeman, and, failing to be again reinstated, he was invited to Denton Chapel, an offer he accepted in 1632, and continued pastor there until his death in 1677.

His son, the subject of our notes, also commenced his ministry at Ringley Chapel, after a somewhat similar painful course of life at Cambridge as that which prevailed with his father when studying at the same University.

"He went to school at Manchester, and was there on the 22nd March, 1641," so we learn from Shaw's Appendix to Chetham Society's Vol. 24, new series, "and was admitted to Emanuel College, Cambridge, July 24th, 1647."

"It seems likely," continues Shaw, "that he was expelled from Cambridge, for it is certain that he went to America, and took his degree at Harvard University.*

"The facts of the wildness of his youth, and the pain it caused to his father, are well known; his son, his only son, devoted to God, not only in the Christian profession, but ministerial function, miscarrying under such education with such aggravations. Though he had paid £400 for his son in a few years, to the injury of his own estate, he saw it did no good. How did it rejoice his sister's heart to read his penitential letters from New England when there appeared any hope of his doing well." (O. Heywood, vol. 1, pp. 552-575.)

"The first entry concerning him at Harvard is in the steward's books, charges for commons and lodgings for the quarter ending January 13th, 1651; commencement charges for B.A. degree July 9th, 1653; commencing charges for M.A. degree July 7th, 1655." (Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. 1, 326-8.)

* Founded in 1636, and named after John Harvard, an Englishman and Nonconformist clergyman, it is the oldest college in the United States.

"He was married in New England to Hannah, daughter of William Aspinall, and returned with her to England sometime between 1655 and 1657." (Mr. Earwaker's Extracts from the Dukingfield Registers.)

In Chetham Society's Vol. 20, "Minutes of Manchester Classis," ably edited by Shaw, interesting references are made to Vicar Angier, as well as to his father, who, we have already seen in Vicar Tilsley's time, was an influential member of the classis.

A few months before the son was appointed to Ringley by the Manchester "Classis," or assembly, as the word means, we find the members arranging for the father to visit the chapel "for a short time for the settlement of the people there, and to make way for his son." (Vide Minutes, June 10th, 1656.)

In the Minutes of August 9th, 1656, we learn that Mr. Angier, junior, preached before the "'classe,' according to order."

Among the members present at a meeting held October 14th, 1656, his name is recorded as follows :—

"Ringley : Mr. Angier, junr., Minister."

And after this we find him in regular attendance at the "classe."

He was not yet ordained, as the following minutes of July 14th, 1657, will show :—

"Mr. John Angier, junr., Master of Arts, aged 28 years, presented himself to ordination ; hath beene examined in Greeke, Logicke, Philosophie, Ethicks, Phisicks, and Metaphisicke, and thus far approved.

"Had an instrumentt given him to bee affixed ; his question—an primum peccatum Adami sit vere et proprie nostrum. Affir.

"Mr. John Angier, junr., and Mr. William Coulburne to bee ordeyned at Prestwich August 13th next, Mr. Heyricke [warden of Manchester Collegiate Church] to give the exhortation."

At the next meeting, August 11th, 1657, it is recorded that :

"Mr. Angier hath been examined in Divinitie, Cronologie, and Ecclesiastical History ; returned his instrument affixed and subscribed ; mainteyned a dispute on this posicon—an primum peccatum Adami sit vere et proprie nostrum, and approved.

"Mr. John Angier, junr., having disputed his thesis and it put to the vote whether hee should bee approved of to be ordeyned, was approved of for his parts and abilitie, but in regard that the offence given by the former course of his life was objected, it was appointed by the classe that Mr. Angier [senior], Mr. Harrison, Mr. Newcombe, Mr. Constantine, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Meeke should

speak unto and move him to make an acknowledgement of his carriage before the congregacon, thereby to evidence his sorrowe and true repentance for the same.

"Accordingly hee, the said Mr. Angier, was dealt with by the parties within named, and hee promised to give satisfaction thereon and was thereupon approved to bee ordeyned."

And "on August 13th, —57, ordination was had at the parish church of Prestwich of Mr. John Angier and Mr. William Coulburne.

"Mr. Meeke began with prayer, Mr. Harrison prayed after, Mr. Newcome (for Mr. Heyricke) propounded the questions and gave the exhortation; they received letters testimonial of their said ordination in their usual forme, and they were subscribed by ——." Here follow the names of nine ministers, including that of Mr. Angier, senior.

Mr. Angier the son appears to have regularly represented Ringley at the classis up to the end of 1659. His absence, however, from the first two meetings, of next year was recorded on February 14th, 1660, in terms as follow:—

"Mr. Angier, junr., to preach the next classe, because of his absence, according to an order of this classe, his excuse not being admitted by the classe."

His father was prssent at this and the next meeting, 13th March, 1660, and at the latter.

"Mr. Angier, junr., preached before the classe according to order."

At a meeting of the classe held July 10th, 1660, Ringley was singled out as follows:—

"Agreed that an exercise bee at Ringley the third Wednesday in September next, the meaning of which we are unable to explain.

Absenting himself from this, and again from the next meeting, August 14th, 1660, we find Angier referred to at the latter as follows:—

"Mr. Angier, junr., to preach next classe."

With this resolution, however, and the addition, "Next classe the 2nd Tuesday in September," and "The moderators ended with prayer," came to an end the meetings of the classe, which had been carried on since 1646.

As to the cause of this sudden collapse of the classe meetings, we can only surmise the following:—

The May previous to this, King Charles II. had, at the call of Parliament returned from abroad, and the Commons were now

proceeding to consider the measures which were requisite for the settlement of the nation; and, pending the result, the members of Presbyterian classis may have wisely thought it their duty to desist from any further proceedings on their part.

And possibly no one rejoiced more at this event than Vicar Angier, for it saved him the infliction of preaching a sermon which, according to rule, was expected to last from ten to eleven a.m.

Angier, while at Deane, was not allowed to occupy the vicarage house, that privilege being still continued to Tilsley by the trustees, notwithstanding that he had been ejected from the living.

And when Bishop Wilkins, "the most tolerant of prelates," was appointed to the see of Chester in 1668, he "sanctioned an arrangement," Croston tells us, "by which Tilsley was to preach regularly in the church as a lecturer, while his successor in the vicarage, John Angier, was to read the prayers."

"This arrangement," remarks Dr. Halley, "as agreeable to the vicar who could not preach as it was to the lecturer who would not read the prayers, continued until after the death of the bishop in 1673, when Tilsley was finally silenced by Bishop Pearson."

Writing a good hand, Vicar Angier kept the parish registers very neatly. He certified them at intervals, adding at the same time the names of the wardens, in place of their signing them as required to be done in Henry the Eighth's reign. There were then, as up to recent years, eleven wardens, Westhoughton electing two, on account of its larger area, against one each of the other nine townships forming the ancient parish.

In the burial register there is an entry in the vicar's handwriting, of a son William of his, as under :—

"June 20th, 1668. Gulielmus filius Johannis Angier,
Vicarie de Deane."

And in the register of baptisms there is the record of a daughter of his as follows :—

"Dec. 20th, 1671. Margareta, filia Johannis Angier."

The last entries of his found in the registers are : for marriages, April 16th, 1672; baptisms, April 23rd, 1672; and burials, April 26th, 1672; after which we lose all trace of him, although his successor, Mr. Hatton, was not instituted till the latter end of 1673.

Shaw, of opinion that Angier died at Deane,* says: "This

* His burial, however, is not recorded in Deane registers.

seems to be indicated by an entry in the Raines MSS., vol. 27, p. 226 (MS. in Chetham College) :—

"'6th June, 1678. Tuition of Mary Elizabeth and Margaret Angier, children of Mr. John Angier, Clerke, Vicar of Deane, Co. Lanc., decd., granted by the R. D.'s Court, Chester.'

"The entry of the death of his wife has been extracted from the Dukinfield registers by Mr. Earwaker :—

"'April, 1699. Died. Hannah, widow of Cousin John Angier, died the beginning of April.'

"She was the daughter of Mr. Wm. Aspinall, and, married in New England, came to England 1656, in the spring, and died, I suppose, at Wigan."

Of the existing church plate, a paten and a chalice were presented in Vicar Angier's time; the one by a lady, the other by a gentleman, and both in the same year. The inscription upon the paten reads as follows :—

"The gift of Mrs. Judith Hulton unto the Parish Church of Dean, in Lancashire, in the yeere of our Lord 1665."

The chalice bears the following inscription :—

"The gift of Mr. John Aynsworth unto the Parish Church of Deane, in Lancashire, in the yeere of our Lord 1665."

Another chalice found with the church plate, bearing no inscription, is probably of an earlier date than the above.

RICHARD HATTON, 1673-1712.

Vicar Hatton, like his predecessor, was appointed to Deane by Charles II., and instituted November 22nd, 1673.

From Croston's Edition of Baines we learn that he was "a nonconforming, or, at least, a non-subscribing minister, who refused to renounce the Covenant.

"The bishop [of Chester] was the learned Dr. Pearson, and the loyalty must have been strong that could induce so high a churchman to institute a nonconforming vicar."

In Baines' earlier edition, 1868, a foot-note says :—

"There is a memorandum on this induction stating that the living was void by Richard Hatton's not renouncing the Covenant, but that the bishop, on the presentation of the king, instituted him."

"The severe laws of those times against Nonconformists and Roman Catholics," says the National History of England, "expressed the general voice of the community.

"Throughout the period the court would gladly have tolerated all kinds of Protestant dissent if, under cover of general toleration, it could have gratified its secret leaning towards the Romanists."

Hence the king's wishes prevailing over the bishop's hesitation to institute Vicar Hatton to Deane living.

Beyond this reference to Vicar Hatton, we find little or nothing more to relate of him till near the end of the thirty-nine years he officiated at Deane.

In the meantime, it may not be found amiss if we turn for a few minutes to the royal patrons of the living, reigning in his time, namely, Charles II., James II., William and Mary, and Queen Anne.

Charles had reigned thirteen years when he appointed Vicar Hatton to Deane, and it was in the year preceding this that "the Duke of York [Charles' brother] was," Ransome tells us, "publicly received into the Roman Catholic Church, and then a Declaration of Indulgence was proclaimed, by which the king suspended the operation of all Acts of Parliament against Nonconformists and Catholics."

These acts filled the nation with consternation, and, meeting next year, "Parliament at once forced Charles to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence, and, thinking that the cause of his misdeeds lay in his having Catholic ministers, passed the Test Act, by which it was ordered that all persons holding office under the crown were to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and make a declaration against transubstantiation."

This Act made it impossible for a declared Catholic to hold office. The Duke of York gave up his position of high admiral. Clifford, Arlington, and Buckingham left the cabinet, or rather "cabal," as the ministry was then called, a word formed by the first letters of these statesmen's names and those of their colleagues, Arlington and Lauderdale, who remained in office.

Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards known as Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds, now became lord treasurer and leading minister, and next year peace was made with Holland.

"In 1677 Danby revived," says Ransome, "the policy of the triple alliance [between England, Holland, and Sweden, against France], by arranging that Mary, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, and heir presumptive to the crown, should marry her

cousin, William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland. This marriage was thoroughly popular."

Two years later, 1679, a bill for excluding the Duke of York from the throne was brought into the Commons. If James were excluded, it was proposed to put the Protestant Mary and her husband William on the throne. This made the Bill popular and secured it the goodwill of William of Orange.

The king, however, refused to sacrifice the interests of his brother, and dissolved the Parliament.

Charles died somewhat suddenly when at the height of his power, at the age of fifty-four. He was taken ill in the night of Sunday, the 1st of February, 1685, after an evening spent in gaiety and revelry at Whitehall.

"I can never forget," says Evelyn, referring to this, "the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday evening, of which I was witness.

"The king sitting with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, etc.; a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery; whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset, round a large table, a bank of at least two thousand pounds in gold before them."

Early next morning Charles was seized with an apoplectic fit, from which he fortunately recovered consciousness on restoratives being administered by his doctor.

The case progressed hopefully until the third day, when a relapse gave warning of approaching death. Bishop Ken, of Bath and Wells, in attendance, administered such spiritual consolations as the dying king would consent to receive.

But when the bishop proposed the sacrament, as he did many times, Charles replied, in faint and faltering accents, "I will think of it," or "There is still time enough."

At last, "the Duke of York," the National History of England tells us, "knelt at the bedside, and taking his dying brother's hand in his own, inquired in a low tone whether he might send for a priest. 'For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time,' was the quick response.

"The apartment was then cleared of all except the Earls of Bath and Faversham; the door was locked, and [Father] Huddleston, the priest who had assisted in Charles' escape after the

battle of Worcester, was brought by a private doorway to the bedside.

"The offices of the Romish Church were then performed after confession, and the declaration of the dying man of his contrition, that he had so deferred his reconciliation to the church in whose ministrations he now sought consolation.

"The queen sent a message, begging his forgiveness of any offence he might have in remembrance against her. He replied: 'Alas! poor woman! She beg my pardon? I beg hers with all my heart. Take her back that answer.'

"Thus passed his last night, his life fast ebbing away till near noon on the 6th day of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age."

CHAPTER LXVIII.

CHARLES had no issue by his wife Katherine, a princess of Portugal. James, Duke of York, his brother, was therefore heir to the vacant throne, and, as James II., he was proclaimed king.

In May following, Parliament met, and, pleased with the new sovereign, granted him all his brother's revenue.

But "though James had," says Ransome, "been allowed to succeed so quietly, the Duke of Monmouth had no intention of giving up his hopes without a struggle."

Monmouth, we may say, was the eldest and most favoured of the late king's natural children. Joining, however, the Whig party in an intrigue to set aside, in favour of himself, the claim of the Duke of York to the throne, he was in 1682 banished from the court, and was now an exile in Holland, in company with the Earl of Argyle, expelled from Scotland.

Born in Rotterdam, and brought up as a nobleman, under the care of Lord Crofts, whose name he took, he made his appearance at court in 1662, and the same year was created Duke of Monmouth.

Pepys [pronounced Peeps], in his remarkable Diary, dating from 1660 to 1669, makes many allusions to him and the gay court, and among them the following :—

"September 7th, 1662. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the chyrurgeon,* he took me [Pepys] into the queen's mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our queen sitting on her left hand, whom I did never see before.

"I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased most, Mr. Crofts, the king's natural son, a most pretty sparke of about fifteen years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her, and I hear the queens both are mighty kind to him.

"By and by in comes the king [Charles II.], and anon, the Duke and Duchess of York. They staid till it was dark, and then went away, the king and his queen, my Lady Castlemaine, and

* "One that cures ailments, not by internal medicines, but outward applications." Vide Johnson's Dictionary by Todd. Probably Mr. Pierce was the court doctor, and doubtless it would be to the gallery he took Pepys.

young Crofts in one coach, and the rest in other coaches. Here are great stores of great ladies, but very handsome.

"December 29th, 1662. To Westminster Hall, thence to White Hall, to see the audience of the Russia ambassador. After which I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two queens, and the Duke of Monmouth with his little mistress" [Lady Anne Scot, a foot-note tells us. She was married to Monmouth later on].

The next day Pepys went to White Hall, "where," he says, "I carried my wife to see the queen in her presence-chamber, and the maydes of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty, though all well dressed in velvet gowns."

And the day after this—the last of the year—he records the following:—

"Mr. Porty* and I to Whitehall, he taking me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the king.

"He brought me first to the Duke of York's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchess at supper, and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the court.

"By and by comes the king and queen, and all the great ones; and after seating themselves, the King takes on the Duchess of York: and the Duke, the Duchess of Buckingham: the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine: and so other lords and ladies; and they danced the branle.

"After that the king led a lady a single coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies. Very noble it was, and great pleasure to see.

"Then to country dances, the king leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, 'Cuckolds all awry,' the old dance of England.

"Having staid here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content, I went home, leaving them dancing. Thus ends this year with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus:—We are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's† lodgings at White Hall. Our home at the Navy Office, which is and hath a

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* M.P. for Bosiney, 1658, and Treasurer for Tangier.

† Lord High Admiral, the Duke of York; and Pepys was, at this time, Clerk of the Acts of the Navy.

pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient."

Turning to public matters, he goes on to say: "The king is bringing, as is said, his family, and navy, and all other his charges, to a less expense. In the meantime, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being public, every day, to his great reproach; and his favouring of none at court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure; which, good God! put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it.

"The Duke of Monmouth," he continues, "is in so great splendour at court, and so dandled by the king, that some doubt that, if the king should have no child by the queen, whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son.

"April 20th, 1663. This day the little Duke of Monmouth was married* at White Hall, in the king's chamber; and to-night is a supper and dancing at his lodgings near Charing Cross.

"April 27th, 1663. The queen, which I did not know, it seems was at Windsor, at the late St. George's feast there; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her with his hat in his hand, the king came and kissed him and made him put on his hat, which every body took notice of."

Passing date November 10th, 1662, we noticed the following:—

"Discoursing of the rise and fall of familys, Mr. Swinfen† told us of Bishop Bridgeman, father of Sir Orlando, who lately hath bought a seat anciently of the Levers [evidently Lever Hall, Bolton], and then the Ashtons; and so he hath in his great hall window, having repaired and beautified the house, caused four great places to be left for coates of armes. In one he hath put the Levers', with the motto 'Olim.' In another the Ashtons, with this, 'Heri.' In the next his own, with this, 'Hodic.' In the fourth nothing but this motto, 'Cras nescio cujus.'"

Under date September 15th, 1668, we learn of the Duke of Monmouth being appointed commander of the first troop of Life Guards.

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* From a foot-note we learn that he married Lady Anne Scot, daughter to Francis, Earl of Buccleuch.

† M.P. for Tamworth at that time.

In 1673 he led the English auxiliaries against the Dutch, and earned a high reputation for courage and military skill; and on his return he was received by the people of London with royal honours.

Resuming Ransome's narrative, he goes on to tell us:—"Monmouth joined with his fellow-exile, Argyle, to make simultaneous attempts upon Scotland and England.

"Owing, however, to bad management, Argyle landed first. He found the government well prepared for him, and his attempt proved a complete failure. He himself was captured and executed."

And a like fate awaited Monmouth in England.

Landing in Dorsetshire on the 21st of June, and gathering round him a crowd of farmers and traders, he marched into Somersetshire, where, rashly attacking the king's troops, he suffered a miserable defeat at Edgemore, on the 6th of July, notwithstanding a great display of courage by his men. He fled from the field, but was captured and sent pitilessly to the block.

"Three hundred and fifty rebels were hanged," Green tells us, "in the 'Bloody Circuit,' as Jeffreys [the notorious judge sent to try the prisoners] made his way through Dorset and Somerset. More than eight hundred were sold into slavery beyond the sea. A yet larger number were whipped and imprisoned.

"The queen, the maids of honour, the courtiers, even the judge himself, made shameless profits from the sale of pardons.

"What roused pity above all were the cruelties wreaked upon women. Some were scourged from market-town to market-town. Mrs. Lisle, the wife of one of the regicides, was sent to the block at Winchester for harbouring a rebel. Elizabeth Grant, for the same act of womanly charity, was burned at Tyburn. Pity turned into horror when it was found that cruelty such as this was avowed and sanctioned by the king."

Jeffreys, for his services, was rewarded by James with a peerage.

Both suffered retribution later on. James died while an exile in France; Jeffreys while a prisoner in the Tower.

The latter on his death-bed told the divine, Dr. Scott, who attended him in his last moments, "Whatever I did then, I did by express orders; and I have this further to say for myself, that I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither." Vide Natl. His. Eng.

Disregarding the Test Act, James gave commissions and preferments to Roman Catholics,

Massey, a Romanist, was made Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; Rochester, who refused to change his religion, was removed from the Treasury; and the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland was given to Tyrconnel, a Catholic.

And to secure his hold of the church, he illegally set up a new Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, with the notorious Judge Jeffreys at its head.

In 1686 this commission began by suspending Compton, Bishop of London, and attacking the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge was deprived of his office for not granting the degree of M.A. to a Benedictine monk.

At Oxford the king had ordered the fellows of Magdalen College to elect a Roman Catholic, named Farmer, their president. They, instead, elected John Hough.

The king then ordered them to choose Parker, Bishop of Oxford. They asserted that Hough's election was valid, whereupon the commission deprived all the fellows of their places and appointed Roman Catholics to succeed them.

Next year the king, finding that he could get no help from the church, changed his tactics, and, following the example of the late king, issued a Declaration of Indulgence, hoping in this way to ally the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Nonconformists against the church.

But the great body of Nonconformists, including Baxter, Bunyan, and Howe, refused an Indulgence which could only be purchased by the violent overthrow of the law.

At the same time he ventured to receive a nuncio from the pope, and to make an English Jesuit a member of the Privy Council.

This, however, only served to offend the old adherents of his father, the nobility, and country gentry, as also the universities and the church, while the Protestant Nonconformists, foreseeing his measure was certain to be reversed by Parliament, attached little or no importance to it.

"The great Tory nobles, if they were staunch for the crown, were," says Green, "as resolute Englishmen in their hatred of mere tyranny as the Whigs themselves.

"James gave the Duke of Norfolk the sword of state to carry before him as he went to mass. The duke stopped at the chapel door. 'Your father would have gone further,' said the king. 'Your majesty's father was the better man,' replied the duke, 'and he would not have gone so far.'

"The young Duke of Somerset was ordered to introduce the nuncio [referred to above] into the presence-chamber. 'I am advised,' he answered, 'that I cannot obey your majesty without breaking the law.' 'Do you not know that I am above the law?' James asked angrily. 'Your majesty may be, but I am not,' retorted the duke. He was dismissed from his post, but the spirit of resistance spread fast."

Failing in this, James, in April, 1688, issued a second Declaration of Indulgence, this time commanding the clergy of the established church to read it from their pulpits on two Sundays, a proceeding opposed by six of the bishops, headed by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, who drew up and presented to the king a respectful and temperate memorial, asking to be excused.

"This," said the king, "is a standard of rebellion," and at once ordered the bishops to be committed to the Tower.

Meanwhile the petition was printed and circulated, and James' rash words brought about their own fulfilment.

In July following, the bishops were tried for libel, but a verdict of "not guilty" was returned, and the shouts of the crowd told how popular was the result.

The same night, while all London was illuminated, Admiral Herbert left the city with a letter signed by leading Tories and Whigs, and by Compton, Bishop of London, to William of Orange, the husband of Mary, the elder daughter of James, asking him to come over with an army and secure the liberties of the people.

William responded that, as husband of Mary, he was coming with an army to secure a free and legal Parliament, by whose decision he would abide.

He landed at Torbay November 5th, at which time James was at Salisbury with a small army, but the officers deserting him one by one, he returned to London, to learn that his daughter Anne had deserted him, and soon after he fled to the French court, where he was received with respect by Louis XIV.

After James' departure, William arrived in London, and at once assembled the peers, and persons who had sat in Charles II.'s Parliaments, and asked their advice.

In January, 1689, the Convention met, and the crown was eventually settled upon William and Mary, and, proclaimed King and Queen of England, they were crowned in Westminster Abbey April 11th, 1689.

The Protestant Nonconformists had played an important part in bringing about the change, and they were now rewarded by the passing of a Bill granting them freedom of worship, but leaving their political disabilities unaltered, while the position of the Catholics remained as before.

A new oath of allegiance and supremacy was imposed on all place-holders, both in church and state.

Seven bishops and about three hundred clergymen, who did not admit the right of Parliament to change the succession, refused to take it and were deprived of their places.

The reign of William and Mary was far from peaceful. As early as 1691 Viscount Preston, a Roman Catholic, was convicted of treasonable practices.

In the spring of 1692 Louis, the French king, and James collected a fleet at Brest and massed a large army on the coast of Normandy, in order to invade England.

The English and French fleets met off Cape Barfleur, and in the battle that ensued the French fleet was utterly destroyed, and their transport, collected at La Hogue under the eyes of James, burnt.

So long as Mary, of the ancient line of the house of Stuarts, lived, her popularity was William's security. Most unhappily, however, she died of smallpox in 1694, and this terrible loss cast a gloom over the rest of his life.

William survived her some years. He died in 1702 after a few days' illness, brought on by a fall from his horse.

William reigned thirteen years with, it is said, much ability, sagacity, and prudence. He was succeeded by the Princess Anne, then thirty-seven years old and married to Prince George of Denmark.

Queen Anne was the second—as William's wife, Mary, was the first—daughter of King James II., by his first wife, the daughter of Chancellor Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.

She was the ninth royal patron of Deane Living, and one of the principal events of her majesty's reign was her announcement to Parliament in February, 1704, that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy, and that she would grant, in augmentation of their maintenance, the whole revenue arising out of the first fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrances.

And ever since this pious act of hers Anne has been known as "Good Queen Anne"; and, strange to say, Deane was one of the first of the livings to participate in her bounty, or rather, "Queen Anne's Bounty," as the fund came to be called, a grant of £200 in aid of it being made in 1714.

Writing to Dr. Wroe, February 25th, 1708, then Warden of Manchester,* and apparently interesting himself in Deane stipend, Vicar Hatton tells him "That he received £10 a year from the House of Lostock, the impropriators, in consideration of all the tithes, great and small.

"That he also received £2 15s. 0d. a year from the feofees entrusted with the money left many years ago, viz., in 1671, by Mrs. Anne Morte, of Little Hulton, to be distributed to pious uses, and some years since laid out upon land in Croft [a township], in the parish of Winwick.

"That John Farnworth, of Little Hulton, gent, left £10 to the vicar, and the interest amounted to 12/- a year, but that the [vicarage] house and lands which he occupied were purchased by the parishioners of Deane, and were not annexed to the vicarage, but were given to the vicar, or detained, at pleasure." Vide Canon Raines' foot-notes to Bishop Gaskell's Notitia Cestriensis.

John Farnworth, here referred to, left by will, dated 1665, £10 "that is to say, that the use and interest of it be yearly given to the minister or ministers of or belonging to the Dean Church for the tyme being; and when there is, or shall be, no minister to officiate at the said Church of Dean, then my further will is that the proffite, use, or interest of the said last mentioned £10 be distributed by my executors to the poor of the three Hultons, before mentioned, yearly till a minister bee had, or restored, in the Deane Church." Vide copy of will in Deane Vestry.

Bishop Gaskell, referring to Deane Parish in his able work, alludes to the stipend as follows:—

"Paid by Impropriation - - -	£10	0	0
Left by Anne Mort - - -	2	15	0
Interest of £10 - - - -	0	12	0
A Cottage in the Churchyard - -	0	12	0
Surplice Fees [marriage and burial fees] -	5	0	0

* Also a prebend of Chester Cathedral, and by the clergy styled "the Chrysostom of Lancashire," and to the people known as "Silver-tongued Wroe."

"The house and lands possessed by ye present vicar were purchased by ye inhabitants, and are enjoyed by him during their pleasure.

"Augmented with £107 in money and a messuage and lands to the value of £420 by Tho. Brown and others [trustees] anno 1714" [making together £527 subscribed by the inhabitants].

"The lands were given formerly to this or other charitable uses at ye discretion of ye trustees, who by a Decree in Chancery appropriated them to ye Vicar of Dean for ever, upon which the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty gave £200."

It was not, however, until September 8th, 1722, that this property, then known as "Crompton's Farm," but really the glebe land, piously given by Thomas Perpount to the monks of Stanlaw Abbey and the Chapel of Saynte Mariden in 1265, and seized by the crown in 1537, was finally conveyed by deed to the benefice.

In 1711 a measure bearing the remarkable title of "Occasional Conformity Bill," was, after previous attempts, passed by Parliament, the queen creating twelve new peers in favour of it on the advice of Harley, the secretary of state, popular with the country gentry.

The Bill had reference to the Test Act, to comply with which some Nonconformists had partaken of the sacrament once, according to the rites of the established church, and then attended their own chapels as usual.

This practice was called "Occasional Conformity," and to prevent it the Commons had passed the Bill three times, but each time the Lords had thrown it out, though with a small majority.

Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, was the collector of the numerous documents now found preserved in the British Museum, and known as the Harleian MSS., interesting extracts from which have already appeared in this work.

Vicar Hatton died September 23rd, 1712. His grave lies a few yards to the west of the church walk and near to the south-west corner of the church, and his tombstone bears the following interesting inscription:—

"In beasa Resurrecsionis hic iaccut ossa Richardi Hatton huius ecclesia per triquinta quinque annos Vicaru per sobris aud honestisres dulcis uxores Margaritam Morris Mairam Okey aud Annam Lacy de —— atam gennis —— tres liberos unicum filiam filliasque duas joseham Mariam and Margaritam obut 23 die Septembris An Dom 1712 etatis sux 65."

Translated, it reads as follows :—

"In the blessed hope of the Resurrection, here lie the remains of Richard Hatton, for 35 years* the sober and pious vicar of this church, who had for his tender and pious wives Margaret Morris, Mary Okey, and Anne Lacy ; and begat one son and two daughters, Joseph, Mary, and Margaret. He died 23rd day of September, A.D. 1712, aged 65."

A later inscription on the same tombstone reads as under :—

"Hic jacet corpus Marix uxoris Johannis Hough de Rumworth filia que Richardi Hatton huius ecclesia quondum Vicary que obut Maia 27th 1745."

Translated :—"Here lies the body of Mary, wife of John Hough of Rumworth, and daughter of Richard Hatton, sometime vicar of this church, who died May 27th, 1745."

The marriage register shows her to have been married to John Hough, Bolton, March 7th, 1708.

In the adjoining grave, to the left, lies the body of Mary, the second wife of Vicar Hatton. Her tombstone bears this inscription :

"Hic dominut ossa Maria uxoris Richardi Hatton Vicary sepulsa Dec 23 1698

"Ne timent mortem qui timet peccatum."

Translated :—"Here lie the bones of Mary, wife of Richard Hatton, vicar, buried Dec. 23rd, 1698.

"Let him not fear death who fears to sin."

Omitted here, we learn her age on turning to Oliver Heywood's Diary. He briefly says :—

"Mary Hatton, Vicar of Deane's wife, my wife's niece, died Dec., 1698, aged 53."

She was a niece of John Okey, the noted Puritan, who is said to have resided in a house in Deansgate, Bolton, having a garden and orchard in the rear.

From Mr. Okey Mary inherited the land, then known as "The Orchard," on which the renovated Crown and Cushion Hotel, in Mealhouse Lane, Bolton, now stands ; and from her it descended to her husband, Vicar Hatton, and thence to their son, Richard Hatton.

Of Margaret and Anne, the other wives of Vicar Hatton, mentioned on his gravestones, we have not been able to learn anything further.

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* Evidently an error, 38 being the correct number of years.

CHAPTER LXIX.

JAMES ROTHWELL, 1712-66.

APPOINTED by Queen Anne, Mr. Rothwell was instituted Vicar of Deane January 13th, 1712, eight months before his predecessor, Mr. Hatton, died, ill-health probably necessitating the resignation of the latter.

Two years later, August 1st, 1714, Queen Anne died, leaving no children to succeed her, though she had been the mother of nineteen.

The last of them, the Duke of Gloucester, dying in 1700, Parliament next year passed the Succession Act, by which Sophia, wife of the Elector of Hanover, and daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I., was recognised as next to Anne, her cousin, in succession to the throne.

Sophia, however, had herself died two months before Anne, leaving for heir her son George, Elector of Hanover, and as George I. he was now proclaimed King of England.

The new king arrived in England in September following, and is said to have been diligent and business-like, kind to his friends, and forgiving to his enemies. He had the misfortune, however, not to be able to speak English.

In his reign, 1721, Walpole became first lord of the treasury and prime minister, the first of cabinet ministers to receive the latter title, conferred, however, as a matter of courtesy, and not by law.

It was at this period that Sir Robert Anderton, of Lostock, in 1720, sold to Ralph Lawton, of St. Andrews, Holborn, London, and Hugh Mills, of Newton, Middlesex, all the manors, lands, tithes, etc., which, by the death of Sir Charles Anderton and his wife, Dame Margaret, his father and mother, came to him by descent.

The conveyance was subject to Lawton and Mills raising out of the rents and issues to pay David Pugh, of London, merchant, a borrowed sum of £16,000 with interest, and that they should after such payment stand seized of the premises to such uses as Sir Lawrence Anderton by deed or will should appoint.

Then by an Indenture of May, 1723, Lawson, Mills, and Pugh with Sir Lawrence, to whom £4,000 was to be paid by the purchaser, conveyed in absolute sale to Francis Colston, of St. Andrew's Parish, Holborn, London, all those the Rectories Impropriated of Eccles and Deane, with their tithes, lands, tenements, etc., to the said Rectories belonging, to have and to hold for ever. (Vide Harland's Eccles Church Notes).

Vicar Rothwell was the first vicar of Deane to initiate parish records, including churchwarden's accounts.

These records he kept himself, in a neat hand, while the wardens' accounts appear in another handwriting, probably the clerk's, and in a quainter form.

The Rector of Barkham, in his interesting work, "English Villages" (1901), tells us that "the wardens' account books are even of greater value to the student of history than the parish registers, priceless as the latter are for genealogical purposes."

Quoting the Bishop of Oxford, he says: "In the old account books and minute books of the churchwardens, in town and country, we possess a very large but very perishable, and rapidly perishing, treasury of information on matters the very remembrance of which is passing away, although their practical bearing on the development of the system of local government is indisputable, and is occasionally brought conspicuously before the eye of the people by quaint survivals.

"It is well that such materials for the illustration of this economic history as have real value should be presented in print, and that the customs which they illustrate should be reclaimed by history from the misty region of folk-lore whilst they can."

Among the earliest records of the parish left us by Vicar Rothwell we find the following referring to the church bells :—

"August 2nd, 1723.

"It is consented to by and with ye consent of ye vicar and churchwardens of ye Parish of Deane that ye sum of forty pounds be collected and gathered towards ye new hanging of ye bells and other incidental charges.

"James Rothwell, Vicar."

Here follow also the signatures of the wardens.

The quaint way of keeping the churchwardens' accounts will be noticed in the following entries :—

"April 24, 1724.

	£	s.	d.
"Spent at two parish meetings - -	00	08	06

"August 7th, 1724.

"Wardens going to Manchester to be sworn	01	07	00
6 Bell Ropes - - - -	00	15	06
Dinners for old and new wardens - -	00	08	00

Not an extravagant charge this latter item, when we are reminded how wardens are said to have regaled themselves after vestry meetings in olden time.

Hitherto the ancient parish, about ten miles long and nearly nine broad, and with only Deane grave-yard for burial, appears to have possessed no hearse, a want that the parishioners must have felt for centuries. Now, however, we find the interesting particulars of one made by six of the parish tradesmen, as under :—

"August ye 3rd, 1725.

	£	s.	d.
"To Samuel Ridyar for harnish for new carriage - - - -	03	15	00
Thos. Markland for making a new carriage - - - -	04	00	00
Thos. Marsh for leather for covering ye carriage - - - -	02	05	06
For iron for ye wheels belonging to ye carriage - - - -	01	08	00
Ye smith for hooping ye wheels -	00	07	06
Thos. Craven for covering ye carriage	00	09	00
Nathan Monks for 4 days' work, hemp and leather for ye seat. - -	00	08	00"

In another entry on the same date we are introduced to the fifth Bell, as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
"For a new clapper for ye 5th bell -	00	06	00"

At a parish meeting held on October 13th, 1727, the wardens were voted "£50 to repair the parish church and build a new house for ye carriage [hearse] and other things for ye parish."

Entries for refreshments, curiously enough, appear occasionally in the wardens' accounts, to be curtailed, however, in 1734. One, on the same date as above, records as under :—

	£	s.	d.
"To clerk's wife for drink -	00	10	00"

Further like entries are met with later on, as follow :—

"Aug. ye 8, 1729.

	£	s.	d.
"To Peo Lomax for Ale - -	0	5	6
,, Peter Hegson for drink and meat -	1	7	5"

It was in this year that a second paten was presented to the church, bearing a Latin inscription, which, translated, reads as follows :—

"The gift of Anne Kenyon, widow of George Kenyon, of Peel [Hall], Esq., in the County of Lanc., 1729."

Dorning Rasbotham, who died in 1791, at Birch House, Farnworth, and whose handsome marble tablet adorns the north aisle of the venerable church, visiting Deane in 1787, has left in his MSS. an account of a "Terrier signed by James Rothwell, vicar, eleven churchwardens, and William Boardman, parish clerk, dated July 4th, 1728."

From it we learn that "the vicarage house then consisted of two bays of buildings standing on the east end of the churchyard. This was all the land that formerly belonged to the church."

Evidently at this time the records of Whalley Abbey in regard to the pious gift of the glebe land to the chapel of Saynte Mariden by Thomas Pierpount in 1265, and seized by Henry VIII. in 1537, had ceased to be remembered.

And singular to say, it is the very land the historian, continuing, refers to as follows :—

"But the parish, some years before, had purchased an estate of Sir Anderton of Lostock, consisting of about twenty acres of land (eight yards to the rood), which joined to the churchyard, and was lately given by the parish to the church for ever, to obtain the bounty of Queen Anne.

"Upon this land was a good house of four bays of buildings, a barn and stable of four bays, and a small garden about three roods long and three broad.

"This estate consisteth of some meadow and some pasture or arable land, and about two acres in woods. It lies all compact together, bounded on the west by land belonging to the Andertons of Lostock ; on the north by the river that separates the two town-

ships of Rumworth and Heaton; on the east by the land of John Blackburne of Orford, Esq.; on the south by the common called Deane Moor, except a small close belonging to Henry Hulton of Hulton, Esq.

"There is paid only £10 per annum by Francis Colston, Esq., the impropriator, in lieu of great and small tithes, paid by equal portions on the Annunciation (March 25th) and on the feast of St. Michael and all Angels (September 29th).

"There is a right of common pasture to Deane Moor.

"All the tithes belong to the impropriator, except what is above mentioned.

"Other augmentations are: Mrs. Ann Mort, late of Peel in this parish, hath given a rent charge upon an estate called Croft Eyes, in the parish of Winwick, of £2 15s. 0d. clear of all deductions, and to be paid to the vicar every St. Michael's Day (September 29th).

"The parish has given £100 in money [this probably refers to the £107 that Bishop Gaskell has just told us of], which is at interest, with good security.

"The governors of Queen Anne's Bounty pay £8 per annum for the interest of £200.

"Mr. James Marsh, of Horwich, pays ten shillings per annum for the interest of £10."

The terrier is, we find, still preserved in the vestry, and Mr. Rasbotham appears to have noted all it contains but the surplice fees, which are as follow:—

	s.	d.
For every marriage with a licence - - -	6	0
,, ,, published in the church -	2	10
,, man or woman interred within the church	1	9
,, child ,, ,, ,,	1	0
,, man or woman ,, ,, churchyard	1	0
,, child ,, ,, ,,	0	6
,, churching of a woman and registering the child - - - - -	0	8

The following note, evidently added in the next vicar's time, appears in the bottom left-hand corner of the terrier:—

"July 19th, 1766. I acknowledge to have in my hands the counterpart of John Greenhalgh's mortgage to Henry Hulton, Esq., and others. As likewise the late Mr. Rothwell's bond for £100. Wm. Hulton."

Returning to the warden's accounts, it would seem from the following entries that the lot of the poor labourer at this period was not an enviable one :—

	s.	d.
"Sep. 30th, 1730. Richard Marsh for 6½ days' work	7	7
Aug. 10th, 1732. To ye sexton for 8 days' work, as appears by rite - - - -	8	0"

"By rite." This, if correctly written, would mean "according to ancient rites and customs of the church." Probably, however, it was intended for the word "right," and had reference to work done by the sexton not coming within his official duties, and so it was thought necessary to couple "by rite" with the payment.

Another entry in August evidently points to the handsome copper vane, which, elevated high above the tower, still adorns the venerable church after facing the stormy winds for more than 170 years. It reads :—

	s.	d.
"Paid to John Clarkson for weathercock -	6	0"

Through the exertions of Mr. Rothwell, Westhoughton Chapel —covered with thatch in 1662,—was rebuilt in 1731.

This we learn from Canon Raines' foot-notes to Bishop Gaskell's Notitia Cestriensis, and he adds that "this vicar was a man dextrous in the management of his own affairs, and always alive to the interests of the church."

At a meeting held on April 16th, 1734, we find the parishioners resolving as follows :—

"That ye churchwardens at ye expiration of their office shall be allowed according to custom eight shillings and no more.

"That ye churchwardens shall only be allowed eleven shillings, or one shilling per man, for attending ye Dean's Court [Manchester] to be sworn in to their office, let the court be held in any part of ye Arch Deaconry.

"That the churchwardens for the future shall not allow any workman drink at ye parish expence; nor be allowed themselves any drink, or any other claim, except what is above mentioned, upon any pretence whatever, but shall support ye burden of his office at his own proper expence.

"That no churchwarden during ye time of office shall be employed as a workman in any repairs relating to ye church.

"That upon Easter Tuesday shall be held a parish meeting to inspect ye churchwardens' account, and that at every parish meeting every person shall bear his own expence.

JA. ROTHWELL, Vicr."

So far as we know, the wardens thereafter observed these rules for the rest of Vicar Rothwell's time, though we find only the vicar's signature attached to the same.

In this year the vicar had the great misfortune to be bereaved of his wife. Her burial, recorded by him, appears in the parish registers, as under :—

"July 19th, 1734. Sarah, wife of James Rothwell, Clerk and Vicar of Dean."

She was buried in the middle aisle—chancel end—of the venerable church, a gravestone bearing the following inscription marking the spot :—

"Here is interred the body of Sarah, the wife of James Rothwell, Clerk and Vicar of Dean, who departed this life upon the 16th of July, 1734."

At a parish meeting held on June 16th, 1737, the wardens were authorised to purchase "a decent brass candlestick to be hung up in ye parish church for ye perpetual wish of ye said parish."

The cost of this is not found in the wardens' accounts, though in all probability it is the same chandelier that is now seen hung up in the chancel, formerly suspended in the middle aisle.

Provided for eighteen candles, it ceased to be used when gas was introduced into the church, many years back, and was removed at the same time to its present position.

Early in the following month another meeting of the parishioners was held, but, unfortunately, under circumstances of a less happy character than that of former meetings.

At this meeting the same religious feeling which had characterised their ancestors nearly two hundred years before had taken possession of the parishioners, but, happily, greater regard for the law was displayed than when the former, in their excitement, demolished the chapel dedicated to St. Ann and the Holy Trinity.

This time it was "a pair of gates," erected at the chancel end of the sacred edifice, that excited the opposition of the parishioners, and the following is a transcript of their proceedings :—

"July 12, 1737.

"At a publick meeting or vestry of the freeholders and

parishioners of the parish of Dean (pursuant to notice given in the parish church the last Lord's Day but one).

"It is agreed and consented unto by the freeholders and parishioners now met, that the churchwardens of the said parish do take down, or cause to be taken down, a pair of gates newly erected and placed in the said parish church in ascending up towards the chancell, and if the said churchwardens or any of them shall be sued or prosecuted for so doing, they and every one of them shall be defended, saved harmless, and at the publick expence of the said parish, and be allowed their expences out of the church rate or levy to be made at the usual time of the year upon the freeholders and inhabitants of the said parish.

"Witness their hands,

"James Fallows.	John Seddon.	H. Hulton.
Robt. Ward.	James Marsh.	Wm. Hodson.
H. Morton.	Hermon Howcroft.	James Edge.
John Curwen.	Oliver Morris.	Tom Pendlebury.
Robt. Bullough.	Henry Tongue.	Peter Higson.
Thos. Marsh.	John Lomax.	Roger Heydock
Thomas Stones.	Mathew Hampson.	James Higson.
Ralph Holcroft.	John Greatrick.	Ralph Tongue."
James Hurst.	John Holman.	

What happened after this untoward event we are unable to say, no further record appearing in regard to it.

Nor do we, from this time, find in the church books much of importance recorded for the rest of Vicar Rothwell's time, though he lived for the further period of twenty-nine years.

Banns of matrimony were first established at Deane in March, 1734, as required by a new Act of Parliament.

In the wardens' accounts for that year there appears the following:—

"October 11, 1754.

"For making ye church porch doors - £3 2 7."

Probably the existing oak doors are here referred to.

The same book shows that the wardens in 1756 were as follow:

Ralph Seddon.	James Fletcher.	Nathaniel Nuttall.
James Boardman.	Thomas R. Doodson.	Joseph Watson.
John Hobson.	Robert Brooks.	James Pendlebury.
Joseph Dodd.	Thomas Barton.	

In 1760 Bishop Keene consecrated Peel Chapel, now the parish church of Little Hulton. Vide Chetham Society, vol. 21, p. 64.

Vicar Rothwell presided over the parish meetings for the last time on September 26th, 1765, and the resolution to which he attached his signature empowered the wardens to levy a sum of thirty-six pounds on the parishioners for "ye repairs of their church and other incident charges belonging to the same."

Croston's Edition of Baines (1890) tells us that Vicar Rothwell died in 1767. This is clearly an error, for his burial is recorded in the parish registers as follows:—

"May 21st, 1766. The Rev^d Mr. James Rothwell, Vicar of Dean."

He had been vicar nearly fifty-four years, the longest time of any vicar of Deane, and could not be far short of eighty years of age when he died.

He lived through the last two years of Queen Anne's reign, the thirteen years of the first George, thirty-three years of the second George, and the first six years of the third George's reign.

The parish registers from 1758 to 1763 show that he had for curate his son Richard, who in the latter year was preferred to the rectory of Sephton, near Liverpool, his father being patron for that year, so Baines tells us.

Dying in 1801, after holding the Sephton living thirty-nine years, Richard's remains were brought to Deane and interred in the venerable church with those of his long-deceased father and mother.

Born at the vicarage, he had evidently in his early days cherished such an affectionate regard for the venerable church and the place of his birth as remained with him to the end of his life.

To the inscription on the tombstone, referring to his mother, already alluded to, there has been added another referring to him, which reads as follows:—

"Here also lie the remains of the Rev. Richard Rothwell, A.M., who was Rector of Sephton in this county 39 years, and discharged the duties of his sacred office with ability and exemplary punctuality and devotion. He died the 18th day of September, 1801, in the 78th year of his age.

"Quis desideris sit pudor ant modus tam cari capitis."

"This is a quotation from Horace, I think," says a friendly translator, "and difficult to put into English. Carmum capit—dear

heart—was a term of affection commonly used by the Romans to their friends." The following is his translation :—

"What shame or bound is there now to regret your dear head ?"

Another friend suggests three different translations, namely :—

"What limit should there be to our longing for your beloved head ?"

"Why should we feel any shame or any measure to our longing for thee, our loved one ?"

"Why should we be ashamed of our unmeasureable longing for thee, our loved one ?"

Doubtless Vicar Rothwell lies buried in the same grave with his wife and son, though there is no inscription upon the tombstone recording his death.

CHAPTER LXX.

THOMAS WITHNELL, 1767-76.

VICAR WITHNELL, appointed by George III., succeeded Mr. Rothwell at Deane, and was instituted May 29th, 1767. He is said to have been curate at Billinge, in Wigan parish, when preferred to Deane.

On October 7th, 1766, long before his institution, the new vicar presided over a meeting at Deane; one, however, confined to passing the following ordinary resolution :—

"It is agreed by the vicar and churchwardens of the parish of Deane, that the sum of £30 be assessed and collected upon the inhabitants of the said parish for the repairs of the parish church and other necessary expenses thereunto.

"Witness our hands,

THOS. WITHNELL, Vicar."

Seven other signatures follow here, after which two payments appear as under :—

"For an attempt to fix a terrier in the church, 5/8.

"When the new vicar came to Deane, 3/-."

By whom, vicar or wardens, the attempt referred to in the first entry was made, does not appear, nor can we say why the three shillings in the second was incurred.

In the following month of November another meeting was held, the proceedings of which are recorded as follows :—

"At a parish meeting held this day in the Parish Church of Dean, in the County of Lancaster, pursuant to notice, It is agreed that the sum of one hundred and seven pounds, now remaining in the hands of the executors of the late Mr. Rothwell, Vicar of Dean, shall be paid into the hands of William Hulton Esqre, George Kenyon the elder, George Kenyon the younger, Thomas Withnell, Mr. Richard Edge of Middle Hulton, and William Hulton, son of William Hulton Esqre, some or one of them, who are desired as soon as possible to place out the same at interest, and to pay the interest produce thereof yearley to the Vicar of Dean for the time being until a proper plan can be found to lay out the said sum of one hundred and seven pounds, together with two hundred pounds now in the hands of the Governors of Queen Ann's Bounty,

pursuant to the direction of an Indenture bearing date the 30th of May, 1709.*

"Wm Hulton.

Geo Kenyon.	John Marsh.
Rd Rothwell.	Robert Yates.
Ths Withnell.	Holland Bradley.
Richd Edge.	Henry Morris.
Ralph Seddon.	John Boardman
John Cooper.	James Mason
Robert Seddon	Peter Smith."

Here the vicar's name appears twice, but in neither instance is he referred to as vicar; nor does he appear to have presided; both owing, probably, to the fact that he had not been instituted by the bishop.

The next parish meeting did not take place till October 22nd, 1767, by which time he had, as we have seen, been instituted. At this Vicar Withnell presided, and nothing of a special character transpired.

Of other meetings which followed we find the curate, Rev. Thos. Borrowdale, presiding over two, one dated October 17th, 1768, the other October 17th, 1770.

In the latter year the vicar made a note in the burial portion of the registers, as follows:—

"From Feb. 27th to September 14th inclusive I copied from the sexton's day book.

"September 15th, 1770. Thos. Withnell, Vicar."

On June 18th, 1772, a parish meeting was held, the minutes of which, recorded as under, refer entirely to Vicar Withnell, and apparently he was not present:—

"June 18, 1772.

"At a publick meeting of the inhabitants, landowners, within the parish of Deane, held this day, pursuant to publick notice given for that purpose. It is ordered that unless the Revd. Mr. Whinnal [as written] qualifies himself according to law, to receive the rents and profits of the Vicarage of Dean. That in that case the churchwarding shall proceed against him as councel learned in the law shall direct. And it is this day agreed that the Revd. Mr. Whinnal shall have six weeks to qualify himself for the Living of Dean above

* No trace of this in the Vestry.

Deane Church Lych-gate.

mentioned, and no proceedings are to be commenced before that time.

Will Hulton.	
Willm Bullock.	John Hoker.
Richd Edge.	Edger Bagos.
Ja^{s} Kearsley.	Geo. Kenyon.
Richd Hardman.	James Holland.
Ralph Seddon.	Peter Edge.
Thos Jarrat.	Thos Ravald."

Here, it will be seen, the vicar's name is written Whinnal, a mistake we can only account for by supposing that the scribe recording the minutes wrote it as it may probably have been pronounced at that period.

As regards the resolution, it is not so explicit as we could have wished, seeing that we are not told why the vicar, after holding it for over five years, is now called upon "to qualify himself for the Living."

Doubtless, after this, Mr. Withnell complied with the wishes of the parishioners, nothing appearing to the contrary, and, as far as we know, peacefully retained the living until his death, which, Baines says, took place in 1775.

In this, however, the historian evidently errs, for Vicar Withnell signed the banns of marriage book as late as May 14th, 1776, and his death would appear to have taken place soon after, for the bishop refers to it when instituting, as follows, his successor only a month later :—

"Robert Latham, Clerk, A.B., was the thirteenth day of June [1776] instituted to the Vicarage of Deane, in the County of Lancaster and Deanery of Manchester, vacant by the death of Thomas Withnell, Clerk, M.A., the late Incumbent, on the presentation of his sacred majesty King George the Third in full right."

His interment took place apparently elsewhere, for it is not recorded in Deane registers.

To a pious descendant of his on the maternal side, Miss Ellen Low Ashton, of Southport, Deane owes the recent erection of a beautiful lych-gate bearing the following inscription :—

"To the glory of God for national mercies throughout successive generations, and in memory of Thomas Withnell, Vicar of Deane A.D. 1767-76.

"This Lych-Gate was erected by Ellen Low Ashton A.D. 1903."

Pleased with the perusal of the foregoing remarks, Miss Ashton has kindly permitted the writer to make important extracts from family documents in her possession referring to Vicar Withnell.

These will not only be a welcome addition to our present limited notes, but also throw light on the one or two matters which, for lack of further information, we have not been able to fully comprehend.

In the letter accompanying the documents, Miss Ashton makes the following interesting reference to the lych-gate :—

"I should like to point out," she says, "with reference to the lych-gate, that, as the inscription shows, it is not meant, in the first place, as an individual memorial. I call it my pillar of witness to the truth of history.

"You will remember that, after Jacob's vision of the ladder and the angels, he set up a pillar looking upwards, as it were, from those early ages, through the pages of history. Now, at this late date, one seems to look down, and see the fulfilment rapidly going on.

"In my own case quite a long link of coincidences led me to Deane and to the lych-gate being placed there."

Turning to Miss Ashton's documents and Billinge Parish Magazine accompanying them, we find from the latter, which, singular to say, is for the month of July, 1903, that Vicar Withnell was curate-in-charge of Billinge when appointed Vicar of Deane in 1767.

This magazine, commencing its first notes on the early ministers of Billinge Chapel, makes, after alluding to his predecessor, who died January 15th, 1763, the following reference to Mr. Withnell :—

"The next minister, the Rev. Thos. Withnell, held the living until 1776.

"From 1773 he had the help of the Rev. James Pedley, who may have acted as a locum tenens.

"The notice of Mr. Withnell's death, in the register, is as follows :—

"'1776. May 20th [21st says Miss Ashton]. Died ye Revd. Mr. Thomas Withnell, A.M. Buried at Wigan.'"

Here we learn for the first time the exact date of Vicar Withnell's death, which evidently took place six days after he signed the banns of marriage book at Deane for the last time.

We have also here the remarkable information that Vicar Withnell held the two livings of Deane and Billinge simultaneously from the time he came to Deane to the day of his death.

And this will doubtless explain the incomprehensible reference made to him at the parish meeting held at Deane June 18th, 1772, five years after his coming to Deane.

Dying evidently intestate, we find Letters of Administration were granted to his father, also named Thomas, and resident at Wigan, as follows:—

"Samuel Peploe, Clerk, Doctor of Laws, Vicar General and Official Principal of the Right Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Chester. To our beloved in Christ, Thomas Withnell, the natural and lawful father and next of kin of Thomas Withnell, late of Dean, in the County of Lancaster, and Diocese of Chester, Clerk, deceased, greeting. Whereas the Thomas Withnell deceased, departed this life intestate, or his testament or last will, if he made any, hath not yet been exhibited before us, in which case the administration of all and singular the goods, chattels, and credits of the said deceased, with power of granting the same, is well known to belong solely and wholly to us and our Office. We, therefore, very much relying on your fidelity, do grant you our power and authority to administer, to collect, . . . and to pay all the debts . . . . and render a just account of your administration . . . . Dated at Chester, under the Seal of our Office, the 12th of June, 1776.

"Hugh Speed,
"Dep. Regr."

In the same year that Vicar Withnell departed this life, died the Rev. Shirley Cotes, M.A., twenty-six years Rector of Wigan, in which ancient parish Billinge Chapel is situate.

And when, in 1763, Rector Cotes appointed Mr. Withnell to the living of Billinge, in place of the former curate, deceased, and came on the Lord's day with his appointed curate, soon after, to officiate divine service according to custom, one "Jn Blackburn, gent, refused to give up the key of the chapel, to the great prejudice and disappointment of the said Shirley Cotes, rector, and his curate, as well as the congregation who were assembled near the said chapel."

Thus "deprived of the possession of his said Chapel of Billinge," the Rector of Wigan applied to the Court of Chester for, and was granted, a writ of sequestration, the Chapel Warden of Billinge and

the Curate of Hindley being associated with him, "to do and act according to the order and power of the said writ of sequestration."

Undeterred, however, "Jⁿ Blackburn, gent, did still persist in keeping the key of the said Chapel of Billinge, and denied entrance to the said Shirley Cotes, to the great prejudice of the said Shirley Cotes, rector, and his curate, also to the no small inconvenience of the congregation, as well as contempt of the authority of the Court of Chester."

Noways dismayed, the rector, appealing to the honourable court again, "prays that he may be allowed final satisfaction for the injurys done him, and that his appointed curate may be licensed according to the said rector's nomination and appointment, as he believes himself to have an undoubted right to, for the following reasons."

Here are enumerated nine reasons. We extract the fifth, as the most interesting :—

"5th. As the Rector of Wigan, for the time being, hath always paid £6 a year to the Curate of the said Chapel of Billinge."

Aware of the "law's delays," Rector Cotes, and with him the trustees of Billinge Chapel also, at the same time petitioned the bishop as follows :—

"May it please your Lordship,

"We whose names are here subscribed, being the Rector of the Parish Church of Wigan on one part, and the trustees of the Chapel of Billinge, or a majority of us, on the other part, having a litigation depending concerning the right of nominating a curate to the said chapel, and being sensible of the too common delays of law, and desirous to have constant service performed in the said chapel, are consenting that the Revd. Mr. Withnell should be minister of the said chapel, and enjoy all the privileges and annuities thereto belonging which his predecessor did enjoy, providing that it may be done without interfering with the supposed right of nomination, which both parties claim, and which is hereafter to be determined.

"We have therefore, as the best expedient we can devise to these ends, joined altogether in this petition to your Lordship, that the Revd. Mr. Withnell may be admitted and licenced to the said Cure of Billinge without regular and formal nomination.

"By which means, we conceive, the claim of each party will remain upon the same footing they stand upon at present; the profits go to the use they were originally intended; the chapel have a constant supply of divine service as heretofore; and the said

Revd. Mr. Withnell enjoy the said Cure of Billinge; all which is our joint desire and request, and which we are inclined to suppose will not be disagreeable to your Lordship.

"SHIRLEY COTES, Rector.
"WM. BANKES."

Mr. Withnell, as we have already seen from Billinge Parish Magazine, was eventually admitted Curate of the Chapel of Billinge, but whether or no by the aid of the honourable Court of Chester, or the bishop, or both, we are, in the absence of further information, unable to say.

Returning to Deane, Vicar Withnell had, a few years before he died, an anonymous admirer of his "great learning and superior abilities," for so this friend speaks of him in an interesting letter signed "Christianus," dated from Rochdale May 3rd, 1773, and of of which the following is a copy :—

"To the Rev. Mr. Withnell, Vicar of Dean.

"Sir,—I was a few weeks ago much favoured by a friend of mine with the sight of a manuscript (said to be yours) which contained some very striking remarks upon an old book entitled 'Lock on Toleration.'

"'Lock on Toleration,' I understand, is a book pretty universally read by the people who call themselves Presbyterians, though I fear it is little understood by the generality of them.

"It is true they are always quoting his authority whenever any person calls in question their right to the free exercise of what they call their religion.

"How far this great champion of our different sectaries [religious bodies opposed to the doctrines of the established church] has succeeded in pleading their cause, the Presbyterians themselves would be much better able to judge if you would favour the world with your own learned and judicious remarks on that book.

One reason, among many others, which induces me to wish they were made public is this—the world would then be favoured with a summary view of the arguments for and against Toleration at an easy expence.

"I can assure you, for my own part, I was very much pleased and entertained when I read them, and you certainly will be justly condemned by all the sincere friends of our church if, after all, you refuse to render her, and the cause of truth, so special a piece of service.

"Because Mr. Lock, it seems, took up his pen in favour of Toleration, the different sectaries have run away with an idle notion that Government ought to tolerate them; nay, we see they have presumed so far as to apply to Parliament the last and present session.

"For what? Not for Toleration certainly, because they enjoyed that before (upon consideration of their subscribing all the 39 Articles, except two or three). It must be, then, as you observe, 'that all the 39 Articles may be abolished.'

"Had I attempted (even after previously obtaining your leave) to have laid before the publick a general view of your arguments, I should have despaired of doing justice to so masterly a performance.

"The eyes, therefore, of such as are acquainted with your great learning and superior abilities, nay, of every friend of our church, are looking up unto you as an able defender of her Doctrine and Articles, in hope that you will put the finishing hand to so excellent a performance yourself, and send it out into the world under the sanction of your own name.

"If so, you may safely challenge the ablest defender of Toleration to take the field against you, and look down with contempt upon the feeble efforts of bigotry and superstition.

"I am, yours,

"Rochdale, May 3rd, 1773." "CHRISTIANUS.

The book here referred to contains John Locke's famous Letters on Toleration, published in the reign of William and Mary, 1695, six years after the Toleration Act was passed, which granted freedom of worship to Protestant and Nonconformist. Their political disabilities were, however, left untouched, while the position of the Roman Catholics remained unaltered.

To have learned the vicar's views on so important a subject would have been interesting, but the above letter is the only paper we have come across referring to it.

The year before the letter was written we find the question of subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, before admission to the universities and before the issuing of degrees, formed the subject of a petition to Parliament.

In the interesting debate which followed in the Commons, it was urged that this test shut out Dissenters from the higher education of the country, and by that means narrowed their chances in any of the liberal professions.

In answer to the customary objections that any relaxation in existing practice would open a door to the entry of sectaries into the church, Sir G. Saville, a member for Yorkshire, offered the rejoinder, "Sectaries, sir! had it not been for sectaries, this cause had been tried at Rome. Thank God, it is tried here!" Vide Nat. His. Eng.

No immediate result came of this debate, but in 1778 a Bill introduced by Sir George, repealing the laws which forbade Roman Catholic priests to say mass, was passed through Parliament.

Two further notes, the only ones referring to Deane, found in a small paper containing other memos.—none, however, in his handwriting—simply tell us: "Mr. Borrowdale [curate] was at Deane 1768," and "Mr. Pedley [afterwards curate at Billinge] came to be curate at Deane and Bolton 7th Oct., 1773."

One more document remains to be recorded. It is another letter, this time addressed to him when curate at Disley by his godly-minded father, who, anxious to have him near home again, conveys to him the glad tidings that Mr. Cotes, Rector of Wigan, has conferred upon him, over the heads of many applicants, the curacy of Billinge.

The following is a copy of the interesting letter:—

"Wigan, Jan. 21st, 1763.

"Dear Son,

"This night, about eight o'clock, Mr. Cotes came home and sent for me, and freely told me that the curacy of Billinge was at your service, as he thought you to be a very worthy young man, and, although he had so many applications, yet he was determined to give it you.

"Mr. Holme, of Holland, has strenuously applied to him by 3 letters; since he went, Mr. Gorton, Mr. Prescott, Mr. Moore, Mr. Ascroft, have all made application as they say.

"The rector would have you come over the beginning of next week, and he will advise you about it, but you must stay to do duty on Sunday following if you can hire a person to officiate at Disley for a while, for sooner you come to settle at Billinge the better.

"The land sets for £72 a year, and a very pretty house, but Mr. Cotes tells me there is about £20 a year in the discretion of a few trustees; he cannot tell who they are, only Mr. Banks, Mr. Humphrey Antherton, and Mr. Blackburn of Blackley Hurst, and either 2 or 3 more.

"So now I hope to see you settled so near us to our great satisfaction and comfort and your happiness. We are all well (I thank God), and join in wishing you health and happiness and long life to enjoy the curacy of Billinge. You must not fail, by God's permission, coming next Monday or Tuesday if possible, when I hope to see you; till then I remain your ever loving father,

"THOS. WITHNELL."

Here we have the pleasing intelligence that Vicar Withnell at this time, 1763, was "a very worthy young man," and this on the high authority of the Rector of Wigan, under whom, in all probability, he had served as curate before going to Disley.

And when, in 1766, Mr. Withnell was appointed Vicar of Deane, it must have been with the approval, if not the assistance, of this good-natured patron of Billinge, otherwise he could not have held the two livings.

Dying ten years later, in his prime of life, and within a few days after officiating at a marriage at Deane, one wonders what could have been the cause of his sudden death. Miss Ashton thinks it was due to an acute cold, and she adds that "a register in an old Bible," preserved in the family, records his birth and death as follows:—

"Thomas, son of Thomas and Ellen Withnell, born 6th of June, 1731, at 4 o'clock in the morning, Whit Sunday."

"Thomas, son of above, Vicar of Dean Church, died May 21st, 1776, aged 44."

CHAPTER LXXI.

ROBERT LATHAM, 1776-1817.

VICAR LATHAM, a native of Wigan, followed Mr. Withnell at Deane, and, like him, was appointed by King George the Third. His institution took place June 13th, 1776.

The first parish meeting of importance over which he presided is dated September 18th, 1777, and the proceedings, as under, are interesting as referring to the dues payable to the vicar at that period :—

"18th September, 1777.

"At a parish meeting held this day in the Parish Church of Dean, in the County of Lancaster, pursuant to notice. It is agreed that the sums following are admitted as the regular dues to be received by the vicar of the Parish Church of Dean for the time being, as having been always heretofore received :—

	£	s.	d.
"For every publication of banns of marriage -	0	1	0
" " marriage by Lycense - -	0	6	0
" " " published by banns -	0	3	4
" " man, woman, or child interred in the churchyard - - -	0	1	0
" " man, woman, or child interred in the church - - - -	0	2	2
" " certificate from this parish given to any other parish in respect to a marriage - - - -	0	2	4
" " churching of a woman - -	0	0	8

"ROBT. LATHAM, Vicar.

"HOLLAND BRADLEY, Parish Clerk."

In the May previous to this meeting, an interesting point of law was raised between the vicar and the impropriators—two ladies, singular to say—of the tithes as to the right of a tree fallen in the churchyard.

Referred to Lloyd Kenyon, then K.C., and resident at Kenyon Hall, Little Hulton, the case, together with his answer, is set forth

in a document preserved in the vestry, of which the following is a copy :—

"Sir,

"A certain tree being fallen in the Parish Churchyard of Deane, Miss Margaret Kenyon and Miss Isabell Edge, being the Lay Proctors and Impropriators of the Tithes of the said Parish Church, have been applied to by the Churchwardens to remove the same, upon which orders were given to a workman to go and cut up the timber.

"And as their predecessors had always, in their right as Lay Proctors, heretofore repaired and they do still repair the chancel belonging to the said Parish Church of Deane, and there being a great number of other trees growing in the said church-yard which are now arrived at their full growth and daily decaying and growing worse for want of falling, and the Churchwardens and several of the principal inhabitants and parishioners being apprehensive that if they are not immediately taken down that some of them will fall upon the church and damage the building.

"Orders now likewise given to the same workman to take a valuation of the timber still growing thereon, in order to lay out the money arising by the sale thereof in the repairing, beautifying, and ornamenting the said chancel.

"On the workman going there, the Revd. Mr. Latham, Vicar of the said parish, stop'd the workman from proceeding according to his orders, and claims the tree now fallen as his property as vicar of the said parish.

"As also the rest of the timber growing whensoever fallen, and says that if any application is directed by law to be made of the same for any particular use whatsoever, it is for the repairing of the parsonage house. Your opinion is therefore desired to the following questions :—

"1st. To whom does the tree which by accident is now fallen belong? or to the trees now growing in the church-yard of the parish; and to what uses are the same to be applied?

"Answer. I know no colour of right that the vicar has to the trees growing in the church-yard. I conceive they belong to the Proctors, and they should be applied in repairing the chancel.

"2nd. As the timber now growing, as well as that which is fallen, consists of ash and sycamore, and as the church is now in good repair, can the same be at present sold and the money raised

by the sale thereof be applied for the repairing, beautifying, and ornamenting the said chancel?

"Answer. I think it may be so applied.

"3rd. Can the trees now growing be fallen without the leave of the vicar, to whom it is apprehended the freehold of the churchyard belongs, or of the parishioners, as the same may be looked on by some as an ornament or security to the church?

"Answer. If the trees are a shelter to the church, they should not be cut down; otherwise I do not apprehend that the freehold of the churchyard is in the vicar. On the contrary, I take it to be in the person who is the rector.

"LL. KENYON.

"23rd May, 1777, Lincoln's Inn."

The document is addressed, at the back of it, "To Rev. Mr. Latham, Vicar at Deane."

At what date the tithes came into the hands of Miss Kenyon and Miss Edge we are unable to say, this being the first intimation of any change since Vicar Rothwell's time.

Lloyd Kenyon, K.C., the counsel consulted, rose to be the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and at the same time was created first Lord Kenyon.

His residence, Peel Hall, in Little Hulton, a township in the ancient parish of Deane, is now better known as Kenyon Hall, to distinguish it from another Peel Hall of more recent date, and sometimes called "Yates Peel Hall," in the same township.

The Yates family are said to have built, in 1760, the old Peel Chapel, now known as St. Paul's Church, Little Hulton. The living is, however, in the gift of Lord Kenyon.

"Kenyon Peel Hall is postern painted, with a very old gateway of stone, dated 1509.

"Yates Peel Hall, a stone building consisting of a centre and two wings, presents three gables to the front, the north side crewelled.

"Sir Joseph Yates, Knight, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, resided at this place about 1774. The last of the Yates' who lived here was Joseph Yates, Esq., who died in 1817, having sold the estate to Marmaduke Fletcher, Esq., of Clifton." Vide Whittle's Bolton, 1855.

There existed at this time a gallery at the west end of Deane Church, the earliest mention of which is found in a deed of gift preserved in the vestry.

Dated October 23rd, 1786, we learn from the document that James Tong, of Farnworth, yeoman, conveyed to John Markland, of Bolton, also yeoman, "a pew in the new gallery, in consideration of the natural love and affection which I have and bear unto my son-in-law, the above John Markland, who married my daughter Ann."

There was no other gallery in the venerable church at this date, and it was in this the choir sat until 1884, when it was taken down.

The following, evidently referring to the trees which anciently adorned the churchyard, is copied from the Church Book :—

"29th January, 1790.

"Whereas at a meeting of the parishioners of the Parish of Deane this day held at the Parish Church of Dean aforesaid, pursuant to a publick notice for the purpose given in the said church.

"It was resolved and ordered that immediate notice shall be given by the vicar and churchwardens of the said parish, or some of them, to Henry Blundell, Esquire, or his agent, that the said Mr. Blundell do not cut down or sell or dispose of all or any of the timber or trees in the church yard of the said church to the prejudice of the said church; therefore we whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby give you notice not to cut down or sell or dispose of all or any of the said timber or trees to the prejudice of the said church.

"We are, sir, your most obe^t and h^ble servants.

"29th January, 1790.

"To the said Henry Blundell, Esqr
and to Mr Horsham, his agent."

Here follow the signatures of the eleven churchwardens.

How unpleasant it must have been to the parishioners to find it necessary to make this appeal to the impropriators of tithes to refrain from stripping "God's Acre," their sacred burial ground, of the beautiful trees enclosing it!

And this was all they could do, for then, as now, there was no law to restrain the Lay Rector, as the impropriator of tithes is sometimes called, from laying bare the picturesque surroundings of a venerable church, like the one at Deane, in order to enhance his income.

Of these trees, three fine elms fortunately remain, two of which, one on each side of the church-walk, mark the southern boundary of the graveyard of olden time.

The other trees, growing on all sides of the churchyard, were planted in 1820, as we shall learn later on.

Here we find the Blundell family, of Ince Blundell, in possession of the tithes, but from what date we are unable to say.

From the time of the Conquest, the Blundells are said to have been lords of the manor of Ince Blundell, a township in Sephton Parish, in West Derby hundred.

The monks of Stanlawe received several grants in this township from the family.

The Henry Blundell just referred to succeeded to the family estates on the death of his father, Robert, in 1763.

Robert was married twice, his second wife being Margaret, daughter of Hugh Anderton, of Euxton.

Canon Raines, speaking of the Anderton family and Lostock Hall, tells us that after the death, in 1745, of Sir Francis Anderton, the sixth and last baronet, the Lostock estate "became the property of his kinsman, Mr. Blundell, of Ince Blundell, by purchase.

"Henry Blundell died in 1810, aged 86, and by will dated July 24th, 1809, devised the manors of Lostock, Heaton, Horwich, Rumworth, Anderton, and Adlington, and about six thousand acres of land, mines, etc., to his daughters, Elizabeth, wife of Stephen Tempest, of Broughton in Craven, and Catherine, wife of Thomas Stonor, of Stonor, father of Thomas, Lord Camoys, and their heirs in tail male in fee.

"This will led to a trial at law at the Assizes at Lancaster in 1812, the plaintiff being Charles Robert Blundell, Esq., son of the testator, against whom a verdict was given, establishing the validity of the will, which was again confirmed by a decree of the Court of Chancery on the 18th April, 1815." (Canon Raines' Foot-notes to Not. Cest., vol. 2, part 1, page 41.)

Stephen Tempest died in November, 1824, after being married thirty-five years. He was buried in Broughton Church, and his eldest son, Charles Robert Tempest, born April 21st, 1794, succeeded to his estates, and in 1841 was created a baronet.

Sir Charles dying unmarried, in December, 1865, his nephew, Charles Henry Tempest, born January 5th, 1834, succeeded to the Heaton and Rumworth estates, and was created a Baronet of Heaton in 1866.

Dying without male issue, August 1st, 1894, he left his estates to his only daughter, Ethel Mary, wife of Lord Beaumont.

Lady Beaumont, a few years back, had the great misfortune to be bereaved of her husband. He accidentally fell backwards from a gate on which he was sitting, close to his mansion, and died on the spot.

Returning to the wardens' accounts, in 1792 the fourth bell, evidently come to grief, was replaced by a new one, costing as follows :—

"Oct. 27th, 1792.

	£	s.	d.
"Bill for new bell the fourth - -	54	4	7
Carriage of new bell to Worsley -	0	17	11
Fetching bell from Worsley - -	0	8	7'

Railways were not then available, and the bell, carried by canal, came probably from London.

At this period the handloom weavers of Bolton and neighbourhood enjoyed so much prosperity that they are said to have brought home their work in top boots and ruffle-shirts, carried a cane, and frequently walked about the streets with a £5 Bank of England note spread out under their hat-bands.

Aikin, the historian of Manchester and district, and the author responsible for the above story, writing in 1795, tells us Bolton was at this time the centre of the manufacture of ornamental or fancy goods.

These were muslins, bed quilts, counterpanes, twills, alhambras, fustian shirtings, etc., articles for which Bolton had been celebrated from the coming of the Flemish weavers in 1337.

To induce these refugees to settle in England, it was promised, says Fuller, "that their beds should be good, and their bedfellows better, seeing that the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters to them."

On October 22nd, 1796, a bassoon was bought for £3 12s. 6d., the first record we find of a musical instrument being purchased for the venerable church.

In 1799 the churchyard was enlarged to the present south boundary, the new wall and draining the new ground costing as under :—

"April 20th, 1799.

"Erecting a new wall for enlarging ye churchyard - - - £44 16 0

"Nov. 20th, 1799.

"Tunnelling [draining] the new ground £35 8 0"

And it was probably at this time that the lych-gate, of olden time, was pulled down.

The following copy of a rough and undated document, found in the vestry, would appear to refer to this enlargement, and to a communication Vicar Latham made to the bishop :—

"Inhabitants increasing, thus rendering insufficient the old ground for the corpses or dead bodies of persons dying within the parish. Therefore two pieces or parcels of land adjoining the churchyard there containing in the whole 4,667 square yards belonging to the lord of the manor of Dean aforesaid, hath been by and with the consent of your lordship duly granted and conveyed to your petitioner and successors, and with your consent to be enclosed and made part of the churchyard."

In 1801 "a viollincello for the use of the singers" cost £7 17s. 6d.

Under date 1786 we referred to a gift made, from "natural love and affection," by a father-in-law to his son-in-law, of a pew in the west gallery.

On November 19th, 1804, another pew in the same gallery was sold for £10, and, like other property, was conveyed by an indenture, from which we extract the following :—

"In consideration of the sum of £10 paid to me by Richard Gregory of Over Hulton, farmer, I, Thomas Nuttall of Rumworth, have granted, bargained, sold, and confirmed unto the said Richard Gregory all that pew in the middle row of the new gallery, in the Parish Church of Deane, being the third pew from the front of the said gallery, for the purpose of sitting, kneeling, and hearing divine service and sermons there, on Sundays and holy days, etc."

Evidently the pews in this part of the sacred edifice had been subscribed for at the time when the gallery was erected.

In the time of the writer, as warden, these pews were still considered private property, and some of them were let at a yearly rental by owners who never came to church.

For the perusal of the interesting indenture we are indebted to the great-grandson, himself named Richard, of the Richard Gregory referred to here. The family ceased to occupy their ancestral abode in Over Hulton on the death, many years back, of Robert Gregory, whose son, also named Robert, and still living, is the father of this later Richard.

To the family of Nuttall, referred to, belonged the Thomas Nuttall who, as we shall learn later on, was for many years before his death, in 1863, the blind organist of the venerable church.

Two Hautboys were bought in 1805 for £4 4s. 0d.

At a parish meeting held May 28th, 1807, the parishioners appear to have displayed on the occasion a more than usually generous disposition, as will be seen from the following copy of their resolutions :—

"The roofs of the church to be repaired, and the church floor levelled and re-flagged.

"The old parish clock, if past repairing, to be replaced by new one." It lasted, however, a further nine years.

"The outside of the church to be pointed and repaired.

"The pulpit to have new silk velvet and silk fringe hangings, and the little bell a new wheel.

"The old terrier being inadequate to the support of the sexton, a new one to be prepared; the sexton to keep the churchyard decent and in good order.

"The clerk's salary to be doubled to what he now receives.

"There shall be allowed five pounds for the expenses of the churchwardens annually."

The following are allowances to the sexton :—

	s.	d.
"For a grave of the depth of one yard - -	1	0
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, and a half	2	0
,, deeper grave in the proportion which is at present paid - - -		
,, each mile the bier is carried - -	0	6
,, tolling the bell half an hour for each burial for which longer time is not ordered -	0	6"

On November 11th, 1807, James Robinson was paid "£38 18s. 6d. for flagging," this evidently referring to the church floor ordered to be re-flagged at the recent parish meeting.

In April, 1808, three payments were made as under :—

	£	s.	d.
"For a new bassoon - - -	5	7	0
,, Flagging 168 yards at 2/6 - -	21	0	0
Allowed for wardens' dinners half-yearly -	2	10	0"

We have already noticed the re-flagging of the church floor. The second of the above items would probably refer to the church walk.

At the same time, April 19th, we find the several townships of the parish contributing as follows :—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
West Houghton -	92	10	0	Kearsley -	26	8	7
Over Hulton - -	30	16	8	Farnworth -	39	12	10
Middle Hulton -	30	16	8	Horwich -	30	16	8
Little Hulton -	30	16	8	Heaton - -	30	16	8
Rumworth - -	26	8	7	Halliwell -	30	16	8

Here we have a total of £370, but for what purpose contributed does not appear, nor do the wardens' accounts afford us any information on the matter.

From a small memo., or "Orderly Book," as it is called, dating from 1807 to 1829, preserved in the vestry, we extract the following notes :—

"January 5th, 1807. Ordered that James Ryley, the clerk, be written to say it was expressed he should be in his place before divine service began, and also find the lessons for the minister ; he was wrote to that effect."

Signed by four wardens.

"Sunday evening [same date as above]. Many loitering in the churchyard brought into the church."

Signed by seven wardens.

To the above the following memo. is added :—

"It is recommended that Miss Potter produce this book on each Sunday morning to the churchwardens for the day."

"Edwd. Kearsley," the only signature.

Miss Potter was the landlady of the Queen Anne Inn at this time.

"October 4th, 1807. Agreed that William Horrocks, the tenant of the churchland, be apply'd to repair the footway to the church through his meadows, etc."

To this ancient footpath we shall have occasion to refer again later on.

On the same date as the above, there is a further memo., as under :—

"Agreed that application be made to Mr. Latham to preach a sermon for the benefit of the Sunday school, which application having been made, Mr. Latham declined."

Now so much appreciated, one wonders what could have been the vicar's objection to such a sermon.

The next entry refers to the singers. It is dated Christmas Day, and as church rates were then available for church expenses, the offertory, as follows, may be considered fairly good :—

"Dec. 25th, 1807. Collections for the singers £5 15s. 10d."

Another note, on the same date, refers to pews still seen in the north aisle :—

"This day Mr. Charlton, agent to Lord Bradford, came to the church and claimed nine seats on the north side of the church and two opposite to them at the west end, as belonging to the Farnworth estate. Promised to lay such matter before a parish meeting."

In our next extract we are reminded of the memorable war with France, and, as seen below, the comfort of those of our soldiers taken prisoners was evidently not overlooked by the congregation of Deane. Three years later Paris was taken, and Napoleon sent to the Isle of Elba.

"April 7th, 1811. A collection for the prisoners in France, that is British prisoners, in the Parish Church of Deane, £4 8s. 1¼d."

The following further note is added later on :—

"May 2nd, 1811. Miss Potter paid me above, and i paid it to the Vicker.

"Isaac Lythgoe."

On the 14th of the same month we learn, as below, of parishioners being fined for Sabbath breaking, but in what way does not appear :—

"George Smith [probably the constable] received 3 fines of, James Partington 1/-, Mr. Halliwell 1/-, John Halliwell 1/-,, for Saboth breaking.

"Paid the above to the Sunday school at Dean."

Notes continue, but less frequently, up to February 28th, 1829, when they cease altogether, and amongst them the following is the only one calling for notice :—

"Aug^st 1828. Ordered that parents are not allowed to be godfathers or godmothers for their own children."

CHAPTER LXXII.

RETURNING to the wardens' accounts, the following are the only remaining entries in Vicar Latham's time calling for notice :—

	£	s.	d.
"Nov., 1809. Hearse house - - -	31	0	0
April 24th, 1810. Bill for hearse house -	66	6	0
May 1st, 1816. W. Leigh, bill for new clock for the church - - - -	90	0	0"

The church clock, in good condition, and still adorning the ancient town, is now probably older than the oldest parishioner.

"Nov. 5th, 1816. Paid for a new trumpet, £9 11s. 0d."

In 1815 an Act of Parliament was obtained for enclosing "Deane Moor and other tracts or parcels of common and waste grounds, containing altogether 269 acres or thereabouts."

A printed copy of the Act is preserved in the vestry, together with a plan of the allotments, dated the 17th of October, 1817.

Edward Tatham and Richard Fletcher, Esquires, were the two commissioners appointed by Parliament "for carrying the Act into execution," and the allotments, numbering forty-three, are summarised on the plan as follows :—

		A.	R.	P.
1	James Carlile	8	0	4
2	Wm. Green	5	1	0
3	Do.	2	0	38
4	James Ormrod	3	0	16
5	Do.	2	2	4
6	Ridgway & Fletcher..	16	2	12
7	Robert Eckersley	2	2	0
8	James Cross	2	2	0
9	Ridgway & Fletcher..	2	2	0
10	John Eckersley.....	2	2	0
11	Wm. Hulton, Esq. ..	2	0	0
12	Do. ..	18	0	20
13*a*	James Howcroft	0	0	2¾
13*b c d*	Wm. Green	0	0	2¼
13*e*	Hanh Clowes	0	0	14
14	Blundell's Devisees..	36	2	27
15	Do. ..	47	1	31
15*a*	Stonor & Tempest ..	5	0	0
16	Township for Stone, &c.....	1	3	0
17	Wm. Hulton, Esq. ..	0	0	28
18	Blundell's Devisees..	28	3	15
19	Do. ..	0	0	38
20	Vicar of Dean	0	3	8
21	Do.	5	0	5
22	Do.	2	0	0
23	Blundell's Devisees..	2	2	34
24	Vicar of Dean	0	3	16
25	Dawes & Fogg	0	0	14
26	Do.	0	2	25
27	Do.	0	0	25
28	Vicar of Dean	0	1	30
29	Trustees for School..	0	2	0
30	Wm. Hulton, Esq. ..	1	3	0
31	Blundell Devisees ..	23	0	5
32	Do. ..	5	2	10
33	Thomas Seddon	0	0	17
34	Blundell's Devisees..	12	0	38
35	Township for Stone, &c.	0	1	0
36	Blundell's Devisees..	1	2	26
37	George Seddon	0	0	16
38	Wm. Hulton, Esq. ..	0	0	16
39	Blundell Devisees ..	0	2	20
40	Do. ..	2	2	16
41	Do. ..	0	0	13
42, 42*a*, 42*b*	Do. ..	0	0	36
43	Do. ..	0	0	9
	Public & Private Roads..	18	0	37
	Total.....	268	3	25

The allotments to the Vicar of Deane went, we need hardly say, to augment the ancient glebe of the venerable church.

Two—twenty and twenty-one—are contiguous, and together line the south side of Wigan Road from Hulton causeway on the west to Deane Church Lane, or Daubhill Lane as appears on the plan, on the east.

Later on, Vicar Bashall's time, a portion of this part of the glebe, that lying at the corner formed by the junction of Deane Church Lane with Wigan Road, was exchanged with William Hampson, of Deane, nephew of the William Green referred to in the plan, for what was then known as Creen's Croft.

This croft has for its boundaries the churchyard on the west, the vicarage garden on the north, Green's Fold on the east, and on its south side Junction Road.

And thus lying near to the venerable church and the vicarage, the intention at the time was to erect on this land a curate's house; but Mr. Bashall retiring through failing health soon after the transfer, this part of the scheme, so desirable, has not yet been realised.

Allotment twenty-two refers to land the north side of which fronts Deane Road, and the east side Deane Church Lane, both of which are now lined with houses, while twenty-four consists of that portion of the vicarage garden seen on the north side of Deane Road, and is now partially lined with houses.

Twenty-eight, the last of the allotments to the Vicar of Deane, is the small strip of land which skirts Junction Road at the entrance to Deane Clough, valuable as an open space, and at a point where the roadway is inconveniently narrow.

While thus adding to the ancient glebe, the commissioners were not unmindful of the need of additional land for better school accommodation at Deane, for we find them devoting allotment twenty-nine to "Trustees for schools."

On this land stands the present stone school of 1820, already referred to; the schoolmaster's house, built in 1851; and the additional brick school, erected in 1882.

Vicar Latham died suddenly October 22nd, 1817, in Hulton Causeway, at the spot where the ancient little stream, the Kirkebrok, runs under the road, when on his way back to the vicarage house in the evening, after baptising an infant at David Brow.

He was interred at Wigan, his native place, evidently much regretted by the parishioners, as the following entry in the wardens' accounts will show :—

"May 27th, 1818. Mr. Carson's bill for black cloth to cover the pulpit for the late vicar - - £9 15 0"

He was succeeded by Mr. Brocklebank.

THOMAS BROCKLEBANK, 1818-29.

Mr. Brocklebank, the third Vicar of Deane appointed by King George III., was instituted April 6th, 1818.

"He was a staunch church and king man," says Baines, "and a member of the Pitt Club, with its headquarters at Bolton, and his name occurs among the signatories to the address presented by that body to George III. in June, 1827."

On May 27th, 1818, and in a new church book, we find the clerk and the sexton handing over to Mr. Brocklebank the fees accruing since the late vicar's death, namely :—

"Cash received from Abm. Boardman, dues since Mr. Latham's death - - - - - £9 2 0

Cash received from John Sixsmith for burial fees and new graves since Mr. Latham's death 7 14 8"

We have already referred to James Marsh, of Broadgate Farm, as a probable descendant of the Deane Martyr. Dying in 1855, at the age of eighty, as we have since found from the Deane registers, he would at this time be forty-three years old.

A small memorandum book which he has left behind him shows that he was constable for Rumworth township in the years 1815-19, a time when municipal and township affairs were very differently conducted than now, and railways and the penny post had not been thought of.

Expenses incurred in the discharge of this office are found recorded in the little book, the items being read over and the amount allowed him at the township's annual meeting.

Each year's list is headed thus :—

"Constable's account, 1815-19.

"James Marsh being constable for this place."

From it the following extracts are taken :—

"1815.

	s.	d.
Paid one shilling to be sworn in	1	0
Journey to Bolton	1	0
Going to Manchester Quarter Sessions ...	5	8
Livering in at Manchester	5	0
„ in a return of the publicans	1	0
„ in the freeholders	1	0
Going to Manchester for the coroner	5	0
Paid to Jurymen	6	0
Letter from Manchester...	0	4½
Going to Bolton livering in list of Militia ..	1	0

"1816.

Numbering the weavers	5	0
Livering the same	1	0
Numbering the freeholders	2	0
A letter from the court	0	4½
Numbering the watch and warde	2	6
Journey to Bolton for the same...	1	0"

In the next two years, 1817 and 1818, there is nothing differing very much from above.

"1819.

For warning eight baggage carts and going with them to Bolton	1	0
Pass for four persons	0	6
Journey to Bolton by Col. Fletcher's order on Major Boardman at court	1	0
Going to Quarter Sessions	5	0
James Marsh, Wright Gerrard, John Bradley, James Hampson, Thos. Green — Going to Bolton to be sworn in for constables ...	5	0
Journey to Bolton for the lot	1	0
Bought paper for the freeholders	0	6
Gardner for papers for watching and warning...	1	6
Going through the township to serve the same papers	1	6
Livering in a list of the watching and warding at Bolton, and paid the clerks one ...	2	0

	s.	d.
Livering "Sise" [Assize] presentments at Manchester	5	0
Paid the clerks one	1	0
Letter from court	0	4½
Numbering the Militia	4	0
Journey to court	5	0
Paid the clerks	1	0
Livering in a watch list at Bolton	1	0
Pass for 24 persons	2	0
Going to Manchester for the coroner	5	0
Paid to the jurymen	6	0
Witness	1	0
Livering in the Size presentments at Bolton ...	1	0
Paid to the clerks...	1	0"

The total for 1819, the last of the lists, is £5 9s. 4d., and, like the previous ones, it is endorsed by the parish clerk as follows :—

"The above accounts were read and settled by me at the [township] meeting held this 4th May, 1820.

"ABM. BOARDMAN."

Returning to the church books, on May 4th, 1819, at a meeting of the churchwardens, it was "ordered that William Sutcliffe put a stone moulding round the clock face and be paid for the same £5 0s. 0d."

"Ordered that Wm. Sutcliffe erect a dial according to a plan he has exhibited, and be paid for the same £3 5s. 0d., and to have the stone pillar which was brought from Westhoughton Chapel."

This is doubtless the sun dial now seen on the west side of the church walk. Formerly it stood on the east side of the yard, close to the ancient footpath leading through the glebe to Parson's Bridge and beyond, diverted into Deane Clough later on. It was removed to its present site in 1868.

At Shaw, a chapelry of Oldham parish, there used to be a copper horizontal dial bearing the following inscription :—

"Abuse me not, I do no ill,
I stand to serve thee with good will ;
As careful, then, be sure thou be
To serve thy God as I serve thee."

Vide Bygone Lanc.

The salary of the parish clerk and pay of the singers at this time appear in the following entries :—

"2nd August, 1819.

The clerk's salary for one year - - £12 0 0

Singers for 13 weeks, viz., from Easter to this date - - - - - 4 10 0"

In the school days of the writer the old oak benches in the middle aisle of the venerable church were all free and unappropriated, as of olden time.

At the chancel end of the benches were a few square pews, Peter Ainsworth, of Smithills Hall, occupying one, and John Marsh, farmer of the glebe and landlord of the Queen Ann Inn, Deane, another, on the right of the aisle; while on the left side, one of three was occupied by the vicar's family.

Licence to erect these modern pews would appear to have been granted by the bishop.

The faculty for the vicar's pew was obtained August 2nd, 1819, at a cost as follows :—

"Expense of a faculty to erect a pew to remain for ever for the use of the vicar - - - £9 7 4"

Considering the object for which the faculty was sought, one wonders how the charge was arrived at. Preserved in the vestry, and written upon parchment, it is comprised in twenty-six lines, averaging twenty-six words each, and bears stamps to the value of £2.

On the same date we have the cost of the pew, as under :—

"Mr. Marsden's bill for erecting a pew to remain for ever hereafter for the use of the vicar - £7 17 0"

"In early times," says the Rector of Barkham, "pews do not seem to have been considered necessary, and until the fourteenth century the stone benches ranged against the walls were the only seats provided.

"Even as late as the fourteenth century it does not appear that many churches had pews, but in the fifteenth they became general. The hideous monstrosities of post-Reformation times did not then disfigure our churches.

"The pews were low, open seats, made of oak [as seen in Deane Church to-day], sometimes carved at the back and panelled, with the ends higher than the rest, and often richly carved.

"It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that the fashion of erecting high pews set in which so disfigured our churches, and were frequently censured by the authorities.

"Some of these are like large square boxes with seats all round, wherein the occupants sit and sleep, screened from the rest of the congregation. Modern pews are happily based upon the more primitive fashion."

Returning to the churchwardens' accounts, the following entries refer, doubtless, to the trees seen growing round the sides of, and so beautifully adorning, the ancient burial ground :—

"April 24th, 1821.

"Lime trees, Mr. Boardman [parish clerk], planting about the churchyard - - - £2 15 0

Mr. Woodward's bill for trees and planting - 8 10 6

"August 9th, 1821. At a public meeting of the parishioners it was resolved :—

"That the floors under the open benches be boarded, subject to the bishop's desire.

"That an iron chest be put up in the vestry.

"That the wall be rebuilt to the south side of the church-yard, a hammer dressed wall, with a suitable coping, and that the same be let by ticket.

"April 9th, 1822. At a meeting of the churchwardens it was resolved :—

"That Stephen Tempest, Esq., be written to by the vicar respecting the state of the chancel.

"That the vestry be built on the outside, in a suitable manner, that an iron chest be put in it, and that it be filled up with every thing requisite.

"That the wall to the south side of the church-yard be rebuilt forthwith, and that the old gates and gate posts be replaced with new ones."

In a former vicar's time we read of the church being flagged; now we learn, in the following entry, of a more comfortable material being substituted :—

"April 29th, 1822.

"Mr. Peter Rothwell's bill for boarding the church - - - - - - £38 18 0"

Another payment, much larger, to Mr. Rothwell, appears in November following, but with no more particulars than the name

and the amount, £111 8s. 1d., probably the cost of new vestry, etc., referred to in previous minutes.

In 1823 Bishop Law consecrated Farnworth Church, making, with Westhoughton and Little Hulton, and the mother church at Deane, the fourth erected up to this time. It was built and endowed by "Hulme's Feoffees."

A native of the ancient parish, William Hulme's will is dated Kearsley, the 20th of October, 1691. He died the same year, and his remains lie buried, so Baines tell us, in a small chapel on the south side of Manchester Cathedral.

He owned lands in Manchester, Harwood, and other places, the rents of which he bequeathed to maintain as exhibitors "four of the poorest sorts of Bachelors of Arts, taking such degree in Brasenoze College, Oxford, as from time to time should resolve to continue and reside there by the space of four years next after such degree taken."

"At the time of Hulme's death," says Baines, "these exhibitions were of the value of £16 a year, but in 1795 the property had so much advanced in value that the number of exhibitions were increased to ten, and their stipends to not less than £60 or more than £80."

While from Canon Raines' foot-notes to Bishop Gaskell's Notitia Cestriensis, we have the further information that "the trust estate had increased to £1,180 per annum over and above the interest of £6,300 which had been saved."

The property continuing to advance in value, the same authority tells as that in 1814 "there were fifteen exhibitions, each receiving £110 per annum, out of an income of £2,502 over and above the interest of £23,700 which the trustees had accumulated.

"In 1827 the exhibitions numbered fifteen, each receiving £120 a year for maintenance and lodging, and £35 towards purchasing books, the income being £3,291 and the accumulated fund £42,203.

"It was at this time the trustees were empowered by Parliament to purchase, out of this large fund, advowsons, each not to exceed £7,000, and the benefice, when void, to be presented to an exhibitioner in holy orders, with power to expend £700 in building or improving the parsonage house pertaining to any livings"; and now, as we write, the benefices are no less than twenty-eight in number.

Returning o the warden's accounts, on January 15th, 1824, we notice £60 paid to James Aspinall "on account for building the new wall."

On November 2nd, 1827, a payment of 1s. 11d., "for repairing the large fiddle," was made ; and on the same date, but on the debit side of the book, we find the following entry :—

"The musical instruments belonging to the church sold for £12 12s. 10d.," implying probably that the organ, a faculty for which was obtained in the previous January, had now been built and in use. The cost, however, is not found recorded in the wardens' accounts.

A long time back we referred to the donors of two chalices to the church. Now we learn of a gift by a lady of two flagons, each bearing the following inscription :—

"Presented 1st January, 1828, to the Parish Church of Deane, by Jane, daughter of Peter Brooke, Esq., of Mere Hall, Cheshire, and relic of William Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, who died 24th June, 1800."

After April 28th, 1826, when he signed the minutes of a parish meeting held on that day, we lose sight altogether of Vicar Brocklebank, and find "Thos. Airey, Curate," signing following minutes until April 8th, 1828, when they are signed by "S. S. Baker, Curate," followed on November 4th, 1829, by "Edwd. Girdlestone, Curate," who shortly after succeeded Mr. Brocklebank as vicar, the latter retiring into private life.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

EDWARD GIRDLESTONE, 1830-55.

GEORGE IV. appointed Mr. Girdlestone to Deane, in succession to Vicar Brocklebank, and he was instituted January 26th, 1830.

King George was the fourteenth royal patron of the living of Deane. He died in the June following Vicar Girdlestone's appointment, after reigning ten years.

In the year previous, 1829, Parliament repealed the Test Act referred to some time back, and in its place passed a bill by which the Roman Catholics were allowed, instead of taking the customary oath, to make a declaration that they would do nothing to injure church or state.

And they were only excluded from the offices of Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Viceroy of Ireland, and from the exercise of church patronage.

Born in London September 16th, 1805, Vicar Girdlestone graduated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took B.A. in 1826, and M.A. in 1829.

At the time of his institution he was tutor to the family of W. Hulton, Esq., grandfather of the present W. W. B. Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, who, like his ancestor before him, holds the distinguished office of Constable of Lancaster Castle.

Turning to the wardens' accounts, we notice, in the year Mr. Girdlestone came to Deane, the following reference to Guest's Charity :—

"May 16th, 1830. Received from Mr. A. Howarth, on behalf of Mr. Brocklebank, for Guest's Charity, together with interest, £105."

Guest's is an old charity, dating back to 1653, Vicar Tilsley's time, left by John Guest, of Abram, in Wigan parish, for the benefit of the poor of Deane and seven other parishes.

The estate did not, it appears, realise the money anticipated by the testator, and Deane got no share of it until 1744, Vicar Rothwell's time, when £70 was received through the Law Courts.

At a vestry meeting held May 15th of that year the £70 was vested in trustees for the distribution of the interest in linen cloth to the poorest of the parish.

EDWARD GIRDLESTONE.

From the Bazaar Hand Book (1900) we learn that "the parish of Deane was entitled to a share of Guest's Charity, for it is mentioned in a Parliamentary return of 1786 that £63 was from that source, the interest of which, namely, £3 3s. 0d. was given in linen cloth to the poor.

"The money was invested in John and James Edge, of the Moss [probably Moss Farm, Middle Hulton]; and the Rev. Thomas Brocklebank, in 1826, obtained from their representatives £100 [query £105], as principal and interest from the date when it was stopped, and it has been applied to the poor of the parish."

Returning to the parish books, it was resolved at a vestry meeting held September 10th, 1830, that Thomas Ridgway, Peter Ainsworth, and Benjamin Rawson be appointed trustees of the £105, and "that the said sum be invested in building, as a security for the repayment of the same, at a rate of not less than £5 per cent.; also that the churchwardens for the time being be empowered to treat for the said land and invest the money thereon."

Turning again to the wardens' accounts, the £105 on May 30th is followed on the same date by another entry, as under:—

"Received from Miss Green, on the security of a note, £70."

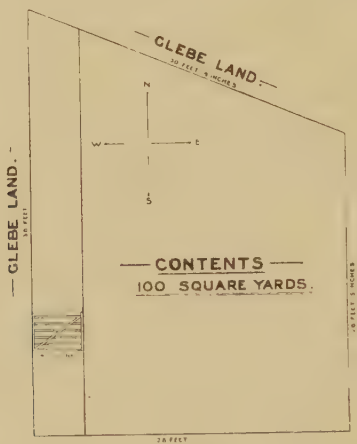
With this loan of £70 and the £105 the wardens purchased from the trustees of the Bolton and Westhoughton Turnpike Road, and put in repair, the building known as the "old machine house," —then facing the Toll Bar at Deane, since removed—together with the freehold land on which it stands, the latter, with the house, costing £65, and the repairs £118 19s. 6d.

In the time of the writer as warden, the Charity Commissioners, in an order dated December 9th, 1870, appointing as new trustees vicar and wardens for the time being, in place of the old ones, made the following reference to the charity:—

"The freehold of the house consists of a piece of land containing 100 square yards or thereabouts, situated in the township of Rumworth [now Deane township, Rumworth having since been divided into Deane and Rumworth townships], and bounded on the east, north, and west sides thereof by the glebe lands of the Vicar of Deane, and on the south side by the Turnpike Road [now, as we write, called Deane Road].

"The land and hereditaments of the charity and term and estate therein, not being copyhold, together with the appurtenances, were vested in the official trustees of charity lands, and their successors, in trust for the said charity."

The following is a copy of the plan of the land found attached to the papers in the vestry :—



Additional particulars in respect of the charity being requested later on by the Charity Commissioners, the vicar suggested the reply in the following letter to the writer :—

"Deane Vicarage,
"March 4th, 1871.

"Dear Sir,

"I think the best answer to be given to the Charity Commissioners is that the ground plan enclosed is correct, and Knowles Cottage and whatever part of the adjoining messuage stands on that ground belongs to Guest's Charity. The legal description of the property extracted from the conveyance deed which was inspected by the Charity Commissioners Jan. 24th, 1863, having been sent to London for that purpose, and bearing their stamp of that date, is as follows :—

"'All the materials of the said useless Toll-house lately standing on the north side of and adjoining to the said Turnpike Road, and also all the plot of land whereon the same stood and lately the site thereof, together with the messuage or dwelling-house lately erected in the said site of the said useless Toll-house, containing together on the north side thereof thirty feet and four inches, on the south side thereof twenty-eight feet, on the east side thereof twenty-six feet and four inches, and on the west side thereof thirty-eight feet,

Deane Church, 1834—Year after side Aisles raised to provide room for Galleries.

and in the whole by admeasurement, one hundred square yards of land or ground, or thereabouts, be the same more or less."

"I should think this would satisfy them; if not, we must send the deed up again.

"I am,

"Most truly yours,

"WILLIAM BASHALL.

"Mr. Churchwarden Boardman."

At this time one part of the house was occupied by Policeman Knowles, and the other by the farmer of the glebe land, sub-tenants of the vicar, who rented the house from the churchwardens, the trustees.

As we have just seen, the house adjoins, but does not, as is generally supposed, stand on any part of the glebe land.

It was built on what was formerly part of the waste land of Deane Moor, about the year 1750, fifty years before the Turnpike Road—now Deane Road—was made.

And this will probably explain why the house projects so inconveniently on to the public footpath, rendering its removal, ere long, a necessity; not, however, without due regard being had, we hope, to the interest which the poor still have in the ancient charity.

In the wardens' accounts of 1832 we find an entry of the first half-year's rent of the house, as under:—

"April 4th, 1832. Received from the Rev. E. Girdlestone for half-year's rent of glebe house £4 10s. 0d."; and this, less repairs, was the income of the charity during the time the writer was churchwarden.

In Vicar Rothwell's time we read of a barn and messuage being attached to the glebe. The former is still to be seen, but the house—no longer remembered—probably disappeared at or before the time when the "old machine house" was occupied as the "glebe house."

It was in 1832 that Vicar Girdlestone married Mary, eldest daughter of Thomas Ridgway, of Wallauches, Horwich, Esquire.

Returning to the parish books, in 1833 galleries were erected, faculty dated July 4th same year, over the south and north aisles of the church, which, with the old west gallery, were removed in 1884, the time when the church was restored.

The handsome stained glass window seen in the chancel was also erected in the early days of Vicar Girdlestone.

Referring, probably, to this period, there is a small but undated plan of the church, preserved in the vestry, showing the following particulars :—

Length of the body of the church	72	feet.
Breadth - - -	52	„
Chancel, broad - -	19	„
„ depth - -	17	„

On February 17th, 1834, the vestry minutes record the receipt of £40 from the Earl of Bradford "for repairs done at nine stalls in the north side of the parish church belonging to his lordship's estates in Farnworth."

In November, 1835, a new hearse was purchased, costing £48 8s. 1d. This was replaced by another, November 13th, 1846, at a cost of £70; and in 1869 the remains of this latter was disposed of to John Hibbert, of Westhoughton, for £1 19s. 0d., being the last of the hearses of Deane parish.

At a meeting of the vicar and wardens, July 2nd, 1838, permission was given to the Rev. Egerton Bagot "to affix brass plates with his name engraved thereon in three of the open benches in the centre aisle of Deane church, conditionally that they remain still open."

Another, but more important, reference to the church pews is made in vestry minutes May 25th, 1842, namely :—

"Resolved that the following parties have property in the church equal to the following number of benches severally :—

"Earl of Bradford - -	13	benches.
Lord Francis Egerton -	39	„
William Hulton, Esq. -	70	„
The Parish - - -	200	„
Mr. Heelis - - -	18	„

"And that in future all repairs of the church be paid for in the above proportions instead of as heretofore in equal shares."

In 1844 the pinnacles, now seen adorning the church tower, were erected, one of which, before being properly fixed, toppled over and broke the tombstone covering the vault beneath.

They are the generous gift of the late Peter Ainsworth, Esq., M.P. for Bolton at that time, and a vote of thanks to him by the vicar and wardens "for his handsome present" is recorded in a vestry minute dated December 6th, 1844.

At a vestry meeting held January 19th, 1846, it was resolved:

"That the two cups for the administration of the Lord's supper be repaired and re-gilt, and the smaller paten exchanged for one exactly like the larger one as the gift of the parish." And the new paten is found engraved accordingly.

It was in this year, 1846, that Farnworth and Kearsley townships made their last contributions of church-rates to the mother church, and thus came to a close an association dating from time immemorial.

On May 30th, 1847, at a meeting of the vicar and wardens, it was resolved:

"That the footpath usually called Church Path, leading from the Middle Brook [and through the glebe] to Deane church* be altered according to the plan agreed upon by the churchwardens, so as to avoid the churchyard, at an expense to the parish not exceeding £30.

"And that the Rev. Edward Girdlestone and Messrs. Walch, Mason, Canby, Winward, and Seddon be a sub-committee to see all measures for carrying out the above resolution with as little delay as possible."

In 1848 the governors of Queen Ann's Bounty advanced £295 for improvement of the vicarage house, at 3½ per cent. per annum, to be repaid in thirty yearly instalments.

Tithes would seem, from the following entry in the wardens' accounts, to have finally disappeared in Vicar Girdlestone's time:—

"Nov. 13th, 1850. To proportionate share of the expenses incident to making the apportionments of the rent-charge in lieu of tithes in the township of Rumworth and parish of Deane, paid to Thos. Young £9 17s. 0d."

This arrangement was evidently one coming under the "Tithe Commutation Act," passed in 1836, and Mr. Young would probably be the lawyer deputed by the parties interested to draw up the necessary legal documents.

"The effect of this Act," says the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. 23 (1888), "has been to make much of the old law merely of historical interest.

"After the coming into force of the Act, all lands were discharged from tithe, and the tithe rent-charge was substituted.

* The path through the churchyard and glebe already referred to.

"A tenant paying the rent-charge is to be allowed the same in account with his landlord, so that ultimately the charge falls upon the landlord, whether or not he pays it in the first instance to the tithe owner."

It was in the Advent of this year, 1850, that Vicar Girdlestone preached his four interesting sermons on George Marsh, from the martyr's pulpit, in the venerable church.

The writer, then a day and Sunday scholar in Deane schools, well remembers the overflowing congregations which assembled on each of the four Sunday afternoons to listen to the preacher's stirring discourse on the religious question then exciting the public mind.

Like the Deane martyr who had, nearly three hundred years before, occupied the same pulpit, Vicar Girdlestone was much opposed to the Romish faith, and was probably prompted to the delivery of these sermons by the unlooked for action of the pope, who had on the previous festival of St. Michael the Archangel, September 29th, announced in his "Letters Apostolic" that

> "In the plenitude of our apostolic power we have resolved and do hereby decree the re-establishment in the kingdom of England, and according to the common laws of the church, of a hierarchy of bishops deriving their titles from their own sees, which we constitute by the present letter in the various apostolic districts." (Vide I. L. News, Nov. 2nd, 1850.)

In the same letter the pope parcelled out England into one archbishopric and twelve bishoprics, and conferred upon his representative in London, Cardinal Wiseman, the title of Archbishop of Westminster.

The pope's letter was received in England with the greatest indignation, but on the people learning, long afterwards, that the Government did not contemplate taking any action in the matter, the excitement gradually subsided.

In addition to these sermons, Vicar Girdlestone published, while at Deane, other works, namely :—

"Home, or the Friend of his Family the Friend of God," and

"The Education Question."

The latter work was published in 1852, and the preferment which came to him soon after is said to have been due to the great interest he had for many years taken in the education question.

Abraham Boardman.

In 1853 died "the old clerk," Abraham Boardman, one of the last of the old men at Deane to wear knee breeches, shoes with large buckles, dark stockings, a black satin stock; and in his waistcoat pocket carried an amber snuff-box, as was the custom of the age.

A bachelor, a niece kept house for him, and in his latter years assisted him in the duties of his office.

He was interred with his parents in the grave next on the right to Vicar Hatton's, and the tombstone bears the following inscriptions:—

"In memory of the Rev. Robert Lathom, M.A., Vicar of Deane for more than 41 years. He died suddenly October 22nd, 1817, on his return from baptising a child.

"His last text was Ps. 119, 70, 'My delight hath been in Thy law.' He was interred at Wigan, his native town, October 27th, 1817.

"Also of Giles Boardman, of Rumworth, who died August 16th, 1816, aged 71.

"A friend so true, there are but few,
And difficult to find!
A man more just and true to trust
He has not left behind.

"Also of Mary, his wife, who died May 4th, 1806, aged 55.

"A dropsy more than seven years I bore,
By which sad means,
To ease my pains,
Above eighty gallons of water
Was from my body taken.

"Also of Abraham, their son, who died June 10th, 1853, aged 73 years; who by a faithful discharge of duty as Parish Clerk of Deane 38 years [1815-53], and schoolmaster 39 years [1801-40], united with a benevolent and amiable disposition, and gave good proof of faith in that blessed Redeemer in whom he fell asleep, and through whom alone he hoped for a glorious resurrection."

Evidently this tribute of respect to an old servant of the parish came from the pen of the equally respected vicar, with whom he had been associated as parish clerk since 1830.

Retiring from the office of schoolmaster in 1840, the old clerk's place was filled by a Mr. Barfield, from London, who leaving suddenly, a few months after, Mr. John Horsfield, from Manchester,

succeeded to the post, and in 1853 became also parish clerk in succession to the old clerk, and retained both positions—the one till 1871, the other till 1886—with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the parishioners and succeeding vicars, as we shall learn in due course.

Returning to the church books, in 1854 Vicar Girdlestone resigned the living of Deane to accept the stall of a "Canon Residentiary" in Bristol Cathedral, offered to him by Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister.

His loss was much regretted by the parishioners, and on his leaving Deane for Bristol he was presented with a complete silver tea service, consisting of a chased damask tea kettle, egg frame, and four cups and spoons, all beautifully chased, as a token of affection from the parishioners, after a residence amongst them of twenty-five years.

In addition to his canonry, Mr. Girdlestone held successively the vicariates of St. Nicholas with St. Leonard, Bristol, 1855; Wapley, in Gloucestershire, 1858; Halberton, in Devonshire, 1862; and Olverton, near Bristol, 1872.

It was while at Halberton that the canon took up the cause of the poor agricultural labourer, and was mainly instrumental in removing some six hundred families from the badly paid districts of Devonshire and the West of England to the better paid districts of Norfolk, Cheshire, Lancashire, and other parts of the North of England.

This was the first impulse to a movement which afterwards largely extended.

JAMES MARSH.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

IN June, 1873, the Canon revisited the scenes of his early ministry at Deane. He was the guest of Mr. Bashall, the vicar, and on the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th of that month, he preached the annual sermon on behalf of the schools to an overflowing congregation.

He had already seen many of his old friends, and been heartily greeted everywhere.

His sermon was afterwards published, and among other pleasing references to his visit he said, in his opening remarks :

"You have run out of your houses as I passed by, and many of your maidens have left their vast mills and have abandoned their looms in order to give me that hearty shake of the hand which only a Lancashire lass can give. I am grateful for your kindness."

Speaking, in his discourse, of the Christian youth of a nation, he said : "Christian youth, wherever they are, are like the dew to the ground, fertilising the nation ; in whatever society they are mixed, they give to that society a humanising and civilising and softening, because Christian, tone.

"They themselves, as they grow up, become good subjects and good citizens, useful members of society ; and, more than all, by setting a good example they exercise in their neighbourhood, as the experienced man will tell you, an influence perfectly incalculable.

"My friends, you are not without an illustrious instance of this kind in every parish. I remember him very well as a little boy, and he used to come to this very church with the members of my own family, and he grew up in our schools without reproach ; and then, as a young man, he was the leader amongst his fellows of everything which was good and gracious and Christian.

"But, as I said before, the dew, when it has fulfilled its mission, goes upwards back again to heaven ; and he is there, and all that remains of him is the loving monument in yonder corner of the churchyard.

"I say you have—and this only one amongst many—an illustrious instance of the incalculable influence for good which the youth of Christ may, and, indeed, wherever they are, must inevitably exercise."

These are beautiful words, and they truly represent the exemplary character of one who had died a few years before, a worthy descendant, we believe, of George Marsh the martyr, namely, James Marsh, of Deane, son of John Marsh, and grandson of James Marsh, of Broadgate Farm, all of whom we have previously referred to.

This James died in 1870, at the early age of thirty-seven, much lamented, and descendants of his are still found residing in Deane and neighbourhood.

In July, 1880, Canon Girdlestone once more visited his old parish, and was again most cordially received wherever he went.

It was while taking his turn at Bristol Cathedral as "Canon in residence" that Mr. Girdlestone died, at the house assigned to the canons in residence, on December 4th, 1884, in his eightieth year.

He had, a few weeks prior to his death, been called to Sandringham to preach before the Prince of Wales, now our good king.

The journey causing him some pain, he was indisposed on arrival, but with a few days' rest and the kind nursing of the Princess of Wales, he recovered his health and accomplished his mission.

On his way home again, however, the pain unfortunately returned, and led to an illness from which he never recovered.

He was laid to rest in the small, but beautiful, graveyard attached to the sunny side of the venerable cathedral, Deane's retired old schoolmaster and the writer attending the solemn ceremony.

His widow, regarded in Deane Parish with equal respect, survived the Canon many years. She died at the residence of one of her sons, at Godalming, on January 6th, 1891, aged 79.

Her remains were conveyed to Bristol, and there interred with those of her husband, the writer and his wife, a former member of her Deane Sunday School Class, being among the number of those present on the touching occasion.

Several grown-up sons, holding important positions, and daughters, all born at Deane, one of the latter being named Mariden, survived her.

FRANCIS HENRY THICKNESSE, 1854-68.

Vicar Thicknesse, then the Rev. F. H. Coldwell, succeeded Mr. Girdlestone at Deane, and, presented by the Lord Chancellor, was instituted April 7th, 1855, by Prince Lee, first Bishop of Manchester.

FRANCIS HENRY THICKNESSE.

Up to this time, and for over three hundred years, the vicars of Deane had been nominated by the sovereign. Now, however, we find the patronage transferred from crown to chancellor, a change in the advowson that we are sorry to see and unable to explain.

Born in 1829, the son of a late Rector of Stafford, Vicar Thicknesse entered Brazenose College in 1847, where he was elected a Mordaunt Scholar and Holmeian Exhibitioner, and successively took the degrees of B.A. and M.A.

Ordained priest in 1853, his first and only curacy was under the Rev. H. J. Gunning, Rector of Wigan, whence he came to Deane.

In July, 1855, he married Anne, the only surviving child and heiress of the late Ralph Anthony Thicknesse, Esq., of Beech Hall, Wigan, who died August 22nd, 1854, after having represented that borough in Parliament for some years.

And by royal licence, dated March 29th, 1859, the vicar assumed the arms and surname of Thicknesse in place of his birth-name, Coldwell.

Three years after coming to Deane he was honoured with the additional office of Rural Dean of Bolton, and later on, 1863, with that of an honorary canonry of Manchester Cathedral.

From the church books we find that the townships of Horwich and Halliwell ceased, after April 14th, 1857, to contribute towards the support of the mother church, and to send wardens to Deane, as Farnworth and Kearsley had done some time before.

At a vestry meeting held August 21st, 1856, the vicar volunteered to devote a portion of the glebe land "for the purpose of additional churchyard," an extension of that part overlooking the Clough, and in the rear of the sacred edifice, the space for burials having become restricted.

In connection with this we notice payments as under :—

"1856.

Nov. 7th. On account of Henry Pasquille's contract to build a stone wall [a continuation of the Clough wall] - - - £19 4 0

"1857.

April 14th. H. Pasquille's bill for 70½ yards of sewering [draining] at 4/11 - - £17 6 9

Oct. 28th. Consecration of new burial ground - - - - - - - £25 3 6"

Pasquille married Betty, one of the two daughters of Edward Marsh, who had also twelve other children, all sons, and was brother to James Marsh, of Broadgate Farm, already referred to.

We notice at this time a document in the vestry, dated 28th of October, 1857, which, referring to a proposed new church at Wingates, records that the governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne consent to accept from Mary Anne Thicknesse, of Deane (then residing at the vicarage with her son-in-law and daughter), the sum of £1,000 upon trust, to invest the same for the benefit of the proposed incumbent of the said church.

Consecrated in 1859, the church, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, is said to have been built at the expense of the same generous lady.

In 1859 the vicar signed the vestry minutes as "F. H. Thicknesse" for the first time, in place of, as previously, "F. H. Coldwell."

At a vestry meeting held April 22nd, 1862, it was resolved:

"That Joseph Crompton, a stonemason, be asked to meet the wardens re making a stone wall at the bottom of the Clough to prevent the constant wearing away of the Rockwork, by which fears are entertained for the safety of the tower, towards which the vicar promised the necessary stone from the quarry on the glebe."

Abutting on the "Kirkebrok," of ancient note, at the narrowest and deepest part of the Clough, a portion of this "rockwork," hitherto protected by a covering of soil from time immemorial, was cut away when, in 1847, the ancient footpath from Deane to Smithills, through the churchyard and glebe land, and over the ancient "Mucklebrook," then spanned by a plank bridge, and, as far as this bridge, diverted into the Clough.

And the "rockwork," thus rendered perpendicular, and exposed to the weather, "wearing away" soon followed; hence the necessity for a wall, which would have been all the better if built at the first. The cost of the path, however, was then limited to £30.

As seen in the following entry, the wall alone cost more than that:—

"1862.

August 8th. Joseph Crompton's account for making 96⅕ cubic yards of wall at 6/6 per cubic yard - - - - - £31 5 3½"

In the orderly book, noticed in Vicar Latham's time, the old footpath is referred to as follows:—

"Agreed that William Horrocks, the tenant of the church land, be apply'd to to repair the footway to the church through his meadows, etc.

"Dean Church, Oct. 4th, 1807."

It was along this footpath that George Marsh walked in going from Deane to Smithills on the morning of the day on which Barton, the magistrate, resident at the ancient hall there, ordered his arrest, and sent him to Lord Derby.

The glebe quarry lies in the rear of the church and yard, and is seen near the Clough footpath.

It has been worked to a considerable depth, and from it came probably most of the stone used in rebuilding the venerable church in 1450.

A vestry minute of November 10th, 1863, notifies as under:—

"Clerk's salary to be £8 per annum in future." Hitherto it had been £12.

On August 29th, 1864, Deane Agricultural Society held their first show, and, being found successful, it was continued the next two years with the same satisfactory results.

John Hick, Esq., M.P. for Bolton, honoured the society by acting as president while Guardian Walker was chairman of committee—a numerous and influential one—and Warden Silcock honorary treasurer.

A disastrous cattle disease intervening, the show was not resumed until 1869, and after being again held the next year, it was not thought desirable to continue it further, though in both years it had been successful.

And it was not until twenty-eight years thereafter that the rising generation of that day revived it, and now the only surviving members of the old committee are Alderman Platt and the writer.

Over the shows of 1869 and 1870 W. F. Hulton, Esq., of Hulton Park, presided, the writer filling the two offices of chairman of the committee and honorary treasurer of the former, while Ralph Winward and Edward Gaskell, warden for Middle Hulton, occupied the same respective posts for the latter show.

Reverting to the church, Deane had, in the schooldays of the writer and for many years afterwards, a blind organist named Thomas, or better known in the village as "Thomas O'Nuttall."

Smallpox, caught in his youth, deprived him of his eyesight, and also disfigured his face.

With his stick to guide him along the kerbstones he had no difficulty in finding his way to church and about the village.

He was of a cheerful disposition, and lived alone in a small cottage, employing his time in making the long cords used in the eight-day, or as now known, "grandfather's clocks," then much admired as an article of cottage furniture.

Thomas Nuttall had many kinds friends, and when he died, in 1866, his savings are said to have been over £200.

He and his successor—then Mr. John Miles, but now, as we write, His Worship Alderman John Miles, J.P., Mayor of Bolton—are the only organists of Deane regarding whom we have any information.

These municipal honours, justly earned and wisely conferred, are the outcome of an exemplary life and untiring labours for the good of his fellow-townsmen; and we hope that his worship may be long spared to continue an ornament to Bolton and also to Deane, where he has for forty years* ably presided at the church organ and over the choir.

At the Easter vestry of 1865 Edward Brimelow, an old and close friend of the writer, was appointed warden in place of John Silcock, deceased. Retiring in 1867, the writer succeeded him.

On November 17th, 1866, the nine pews in the north aisle of the church, attached to the estate of the Earl of Bradford at Farnworth, were voted to the use of the parishioners, that township "being no longer a part of the parish of Deane."

At this time the parish had six churchwardens, five of whom wishing to retire, others, including the writer, were elected at the next vestry meeting, Easter Tuesday, April 23rd, 1867, namely:—

James Boardman, for Rumworth.
James Heaton, for Over Hulton.
Edward Gaskell, for Middle Hulton.
Thomas Hodson, for Little Hulton.
Joshua Gregory, for Westhoughton.

While Thomas Mason, an old warden, was again appointed to represent Heaton township.

Though apparently not minuted, it was suggested at this meeting that there should be a corresponding number of sidesmen

*He was appointed at Easter, 1864, two years before Mr. Nuttall's death.

elected, but as it had not been customary, and the six wardens intimating their intention to perform their duties to the satisfaction of the vicar and the parishioners, the matter was not pressed.

On the 9th of November, 1867, the weathercock was taken down for examination, and, found all right, was put up again at a total expense of 4s. 2d.

In the same month Vicar Thicknesse, suggesting the improvement, contributed £2 2s. 0d. towards the restoration of the belfry window, then half built up with brick, and the mullions dilapidated.

It was at this time, a period when penny readings—winter entertainments by local talent, and at a penny admission—were in vogue, that a committee for providing and conducting a series of entertainments in the schoolroom at Deane, for the ensuing winter, was formed, composed as under :—

Wardens Boardman (hon. sec.) Heaton, and Gaskell.
John Horsfield, parish clerk.
John Miles, organist and choir master.
Peter Mason, boys' superintendent Sunday school.
Thomas Halliwell, girls' superintendent Sunday school.
James Marsh, young men's teacher, Sunday school.
R. Winward, M. Mitford, and E. Brimelow, ex-warden.

Much appreciated, the entertainments realised the first winter a profit of £9 5s. 0d., and this was handed over to the vicar for the benefit of the Sunday schools.

Early in the next year the vicar was offered the rectory of Brackley, by the Earl of Ellesmere, and having accepted it, he resigned the living of Deane on February 15th, 1868.

During his stay at Deane, Vicar Thicknesse was much esteemed by his parishioners, and on leaving he was presented with a handsome silver epergne costing over £80.

While at Brackley his college conferred upon him the degree of D.D., and in 1875 he was appointed Canon Residentiary of Peterborough and Archdeacon of Northampton.

Thirteen years later, June, 1888, he was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, where the writer and his wife had the pleasure of congratulating him, first Suffragan Bishop of Leicester.

Presiding over the Church Congress held at Leicester in 1902, Bishop Thicknesse was much praised for the courtesy, ability, and tact with which he conducted the proceedings on the memorable occasion.

In the same year he resigned his bishopric, and in cordially accepting it the Bishop of Peterborough expressed publicly "his appreciation of the work Dr. Thicknesse had performed for the church and the diocese during his connection with it of thirty-four years."

His canonry of Peterborough, together with the archdeaconry, and rectorship of Oxendon, the bishop still retains.

Returning to Deane, pending the appointment of Vicar Thicknesse's successor, the Rev. R. B. Hull acted as curate-in-charge, and on the following Easter Tuesday, April 14th, 1868, presided at the annual vestry meeting, when the six old churchwardens were reappointed.

WILLIAM BASHALL.

CHAPTER LXXV.

WILLIAM BASHALL, 1868-76.

PRESENTED by Lord Chancellor Cairns, and instituted April 27th, 1868, Mr. Bashall came to Deane in succession to Vicar Thicknesse.

Writing to the wardens the day after his institution, his letter, so modestly composed, gave them that favourable impression of his kindly disposition and tact which, throughout his vicariate, he invariably displayed in his intercourse with them, as well as with his parishioners. It reads as follows:—

"Deane,
"April 28th, 1868.

"To the churchwardens of Deane.

"Gentlemen,

"I have the pleasure to inform you that I was yesterday instituted by the Lord Bishop of Manchester to the vicarage of Deane, and have been inducted by his lordship's mandate into the aforesaid parish.

"I hope to be present at divine service on Sunday next, when I trust it may be convenient to some of the churchwardens to meet me to inspect my papers, attest my declaration and reading of the thirty-nine articles, and, may I humbly ask, to unite their prayers with mine to Almighty God that I may have His guidance and strength to fulfil the manifold duties of this important charge.

"I am, gentlemen,
"Your most faithful servant,
"WILLIAM BASHALL."

The wardens attending church, as desired, kindly received and welcomed the new vicar, and also attested his declaration and reading of the thirty-nine articles of religion.

He is said to have been born in Goswell Square, London, and graduating at Oxford, he took his B.A. degree in 1853, and that of M.A. in 1854.

Ordained deacon in the former, and priest in the latter year, he filled in turn the offices of Curate of Uxbridge, 1853-56; Richmond,

1856-67; and St. Annes, Highgate Rise, London, 1867-68, being preferred to Deane from the last-named place.

His wife, a niece of the late well-known and esteemed John Hick, Esq., many years M.P. for Bolton, was an amiable lady, and very good to the poor.

On June 20th, 1868, Vicar Bashall presided over a vestry meeting, the first since his appointment, and at this a church rate of a penny in the pound was voted for church expenses, the last levied at Deane, Parliament abolishing the rate the same year.

At the next vestry meeting, held on Easter Tuesday, March 30th, 1869, church expenses were met as follows—

"At a meeting this day of the vicar, churchwardens, and parishioners, the following resolutions were carried unanimously:—

"Moved by Mr. Fearnhead, seconded by Mr. Joseph Hibbert:

"That in future, in lieu of church rate, the expenses of Deane church be met by an assessment on each appropriated sitting, the amount of which, payable quarterly, be settled by the churchwardens.

"Moved by Mr. Churchwarden Boardman, seconded by Mr. Churchwarden Gaskell:

"That the proposal of the vicar, that in future non-parishioners burying in Deane churchyard be charged double fees, one-half of such extra fee to go towards the maintenance of the church.

WILLIAM BASHALL, Vicar.
JAMES BOARDMAN,
THOS. MASON,
THOS. HODSON,
JAMES HEATON
EDWARD GASKELL, } Churchwardens."

The free seats were, we need hardly say, excluded from the assessment, and of those appropriated the greater number belonged to Stephen Heelis, Esq., solicitor, of Manchester; the Bridgewater Trustees; and the Hulton Estate.

The two former cordially approving the arrangement, the one generously gave up his pews for the good of the church, while the other kindly accepted responsibility for the seat rate.

Waited upon by the wardens—Mr. James Heaton and the writer—W. F. Hulton, Esq., a few days after, kindly wrote to the wardens as follows:—

"Hulton Park,
"April 25th, 1869.

"Messrs. Boardman and Heaton,
"Churchwardens,
"Deane.

"Gentlemen,

"I return the list of proposed assessments on pews. They appear to me very much higher to all than you could with any reason expect to be agreed to. When I attended the meeting at the vicarage, it was believed something like forty to fifty pounds could be raised by voluntary subscriptions.

"I recollect, for instance, Mr. Gaskell saying he thought ten pounds might be raised in Middle Hulton, and so forth. I was strongly against the Sunday offertory and a regular rate, but left that meeting in favour of an annual sermon, and an attempt being made to see what could be raised by voluntary gifts on application. I feel disposed to give, in any way the churchwardens approve, twenty-five pounds, but not more. It was said at the vicarage it would require about fifty pounds besides what was expected from private voluntary donations, but not one hundred.

"One hundred was the gross amount named as necessary, and fifty from indirect sources, and fifty from various gifts, £100. In haste,

"Yours truly,
"Wm. Ford Hulton."

The meeting here mentioned took place at the vicarage, and was attended by the vicar, wardens, and some of the leading parishioners, called together a day or two before the vestry meeting, to consider the best way of providing for church expenses in place of the abolished Church rate.

In the absence of other suggestions, the wardens submitted three alternatives, namely, a voluntary church rate, Sunday offertory, and a seat rate, accompanied by estimates, as under :—

Voluntary church rate of one penny in the £1 :—

Rumworth	£12
Over Hulton	15
Middle Hulton	10
Heaton	8
	£45

Sunday Offertory :—
52 Sundays at 35/- per Sunday - - - - £91

Seat Rate :—
507 sittings, averaging per annum 4/- each - - £101

Estimated yearly expenses, based on past five years -	£88
Add yearly estimate for beautifying the church - -	12
	£100

At this, as at the subsequent Easter vestry meeting, the seat rate was unanimously adopted.

Reverting to the assessment, the wardens, on receipt of Mr. Hulton's letter, consulted the vicar, with the result that, on the 3rd of May following, the writer, at the request of the wardens, wrote to Mr. Hulton as follows :—

"Deane, May 3rd, 1869.

"W. F. Hulton, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"The churchwardens are very much gratified to learn from the vicar that you are willing to contribute £40 a year, (inclusive of the annual gift of £10 for the choir), as a seat rate for your pews.

"They also understood the vicar to say you had written them to that effect. The letter has not, however, come to hand.

"Your obedient servant,

"J. Boardman."

To this letter Mr. Hulton kindly replied as follows :—

"Hulton Park,
"Bolton,
"May 8th, 1869.

"To Messrs. J. Boardman and J. Heaton,
Churchwardens for the Parish of
Deane.

"Gentlemen,

"I am willing, in answer to your letter of May 3rd, till I give any further notice, to pay the sum of forty pounds per annum, in two half-yearly payments of twenty pounds each half-year (inclusive of my former donation to the vicar of £10 for the choir per annum) to the churchwardens for the time being of the parish

church of Deane, for the general expenses of the church, having particular reference to those incurred in the due celebration of the sacraments, the washing of the vestments used by the clergy, and the lighting, firing, and usual cleaning of the church.

"It is, however, to be distinctly understood that these payments are to be exclusive of any necessary painting or general repairs of the church, and are not in any way to be considered as compromising or giving up, or affecting directly or indirectly any right, real or supposed, of which I or my successors may be seized or possessed.

"The payment may be considered as commencing from Easter Sunday in the year 1869, and three months' notice, to be given in writing at any time after the last payment made, and before the next half-yearly instalment, of any intention to cease making such payments in future, such notice aforesaid to be given personally to the vicar of the parish and the churchwardens for the township of Over Hulton (for the time being), or either of them, or left at their last known usual place of residence.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Yours faithfully,

"WILLIAM FORD HULTON."

This generous letter, we need hardly say, met with the approval of vicar and wardens.

With the abolition of the Church Rate, Little Hulton and Westhoughton townships ceased to contribute towards the support of their ancient mother church. The former, however, continued to send a warden to Deane up to 1874.

In September, 1869, the Charity Commissioners revised the trustees of Deane Schools, who are also trustees of the schools' charities, which at that time consisted of the following legacies :—

"A piece or plot of freehold land, situated in Rumworth, in the County of Lancaster, containing two roods or thereabouts, and the school buildings and schoolmaster's house built thereon.

"A yearly rent-charge of £2, issuing out of lands called the Windle Park Estate, situate in the township of Windle in the parish of Prescott, in the County of Lancaster, and now belonging to David Bromilow, of Battlesden Park, Bedfordshire, Esq.

"Crompton's Charity :—

1. Certain lands and hereditaments, situate in Tottington Lower End, in the parish of Bury, containing 17A. OR. 30P., and known as Birchen Bower Farm, now in the occupation of John Taylor as yearly tenant.

2. Certain lands and hereditaments situate in Tottington Lower end aforesaid, containing 11A. 3R. 2P., and known as Sheepgate Farm, now in the occupation of Edward Collins as yearly tenant.

"Joseph Ridgway's Charity :—

A sum of £1,333 6s. 8d. Consolidated £3 per cent. Annuities standing in the names of the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds, and forming part of a sum of £14,400 Consolidated £3 per cent. Annuities, held by the said Official Trustees for the account of Joseph Ridgway's Charities."

The income from Crompton's and Ridgway's Charities is shown in the yearly statement of school accounts for 1869-70 to have been £70.

On Sunday, January 28th, 1870, the organ, having been "thoroughly repaired, renovated, cleaned, and a cornopean stop added," was re-opened; and from a printed statement issued at the time by the vicar, treasurer of the fund, we learn that the total cost came to £172 10s., towards which donations to the amount of £177 18s. 1d. were received.

The new system for meeting church expenses proving satisfactory, it was again adopted at the Easter vestry meeting held April 19th, 1870, as the following extracts from the proceedings will show :—

"April 19th, 1870. Vestry meeting. Present Rev. W. Bashall (chairman); W. F. Hulton, Esq.; W. W. B. Hulton, Esq.; the churchwardens Boardman, Heaton, Gaskell, Green, and Mason; Messrs. Simpson, Marsh, Poole, Ingham, Horsfield, and others.

"Mr. Simpson moved, and Mr. Ingham seconded, the following resolution :—

'That the yearly expenses of Deane Parish be met by an assessment on each appropriated sitting, as last year.' Carried unanimously.

"The churchwardens' accounts were read and unanimously passed."

The old wardens were unanimously re-elected, except Thomas Hodson, warden for Little Hulton, who retiring, William Green was elected in his place.

And "after votes of thanks to vicar and wardens, the meeting closed."

A few days later the churchwardens issued their first printed statement of receipts and expenses, namely, March 31st, 1869, to April 16th, 1870, prefaced by the following remarks :—

"We have much pleasure in handing you statement of the churchwardens' accounts for the past year.

"The receipts having been found fairly satisfactory, it has been resolved to continue the present system.

"Six years having elapsed since the parish church was renovated and beautified, it is the churchwardens' wish to have this done again before the annual sermon; and as considerable extra expenditure will be incurred, it is proposed to have collections on Whit-Sunday, and any donations will be thankfully received."

The receipts amounted to £160 14s. 1d., and the expenses to £141 0s. 5d.

Special offertories, not included in above receipts, appeared as follow :—

	£	s.	d.
Additional Curates Society - -	8	16	10
Organ Fund - - - - -	14	11	3
Bolton Church of England Missionary Society - - - - -	14	2	5
Offertories for the Poor - . -	19	11	8
Thank-offering for the Poor - -	5	0	0
Poor Box - - - - -	0	8	3
Annual Sermons for the Schools -	130	8	6
	192	18	11
Donations to Organ Fund - -	177	18	1
	£370	17	0

Guest's Charity appeared as under :—

To Rent of Cottage - -	£9	0	0
By Vicar and Wardens for Distribution to the Poor - - - -	£9	0	0

Not long after the issue of this statement of accounts there appeared in one of the local newspapers the following letter from Mr. Hulton :—

"W. F. Hulton, Esq., and the Churchwardens of Deane.

"We have been requested to give insertion to the following letter addressed by William Ford Hulton, Esq., to the churchwardens of the parish of Deane:—

"'To the churchwardens of the parish church of Deane.

"'Sirs,—I have received a printed copy of the statement of the churchwardens' accounts for the past year, to April 16th, 1870. I observe my name put down, as having given "a donation of thirty pounds" towards the church expenses. This statement is not correct, and ought not to have been so printed. I told the churchwardens, in open vestry, the money so found and paid to them through me, was not a donation, or gift from myself alone, but that by a private arrangement with the inhabitant ratepayers of the township of Over Hulton, I had agreed to make such a payment on behalf of that township, leaving them to repay me in such manner as might privately be agreeable to us. I objected to the term donation at all, which was inserted by Mr. James Boardman, churchwarden for Rumworth. Mr. James Heaton, for instance, who is churchwarden for the township of Over Hulton, and who attended the vestry meeting, had paid me one pound towards the expenses under this private arrangement, some days before, and had at the time a receipt for the amount with him, which was produced. It is a matter of deep regret to a large number of parishioners of Deane that Mr. James Boardman, the youngest churchwarden, and who not many years since received his education under Mr. Horsfield, at the Deane day school, should by his dictatorial conduct openly annoy the feelings of many old parishioners, which he has already done. It is a matter of further regret that his conduct should be the cause of much dissatisfaction in a parish notorious for the unusually happy feelings which have so long existed between vicar, churchwardens, and parishioners.

"'I am given to understand that a statement has been made, and circulated pretty freely, that I, as "The Squire of the parish, am at loggerheads with my vicar," and further, that I said "I would build a Wesleyan chapel at the church gates." I desire to give both these statements a strong denial.

"'Nobody can be more happy or comfortable on all points than I am with our excellent and highly-respected vicar, who has endeared himself in every way since he came into the parish to

every member of his congregation, by his sound judgment in religious matters, his devotion to the sick and poor, and his unbounded courtesy and charity to all those who may on some points differ from him.

"'With regard to the statement about my building a Wesleyan chapel at the church gates, that also is erroneous, and deserves at once checking; though I admit, with all deference to that most excellent body, that I did say "Mr. Boardman's conduct was enough to drive one to Wesleyanism."

"'I am, Sirs, your obedient servant,

"'WILLIAM FORD HULTON.

"'Hulton Park, April 29th, 1870.'"

It has been said that "the only thing a man possessed was his character," and so it was with the former student of Deane National Schools at this period of his life.

Providentially, however, no harm befel him from so public a rebuke.

Unexpected, the letter came with as much surprise to the parishioners as to the vicar and churchwardens, and his friends sympathising with him, the junior warden remained in office.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

MR. HULTON possessed all the good qualities of an exemplary country squire, and though mistaken here, through the fault of others, he doubtless wrote what he really believed, while the "youngest churchwarden" can as truly say that the word "donation," so bitterly complained of, never emanated from him, though he, along with his colleagues and the vicar, approved of it.

As to "dictatorial conduct," he may not offer an opinion, seeing that the term referred only to him; but his colleagues and the vicar, reviewing Mr. Hulton's letter, have left on record, he is thankful to say, an appreciative testimony to his character and services, and in this "dictatorial conduct" has not failed to receive favourable notice. It reads as follows:—

"The churchwardens of Deane express their great regret at the erroneous opinion published in last Saturday's paper with respect to the conduct and character of their colleague, Mr. James Boardman, churchwarden for Rumworth.

"The churchwardens' accounts, having been previously audited, were passed unanimously at the largest vestry meeting held for some time at Deane.

"Mr. Boardman was unanimously re-elected churchwarden for Rumworth, Mr. Hulton himself voting for him.

"We are not aware of any dissatisfaction or annoyance having been caused by Mr. Boardman; on the contrary, we have reason to believe that his very efficient and conscientious discharge of his duties has been of much service to the parish, and gained him many friends, as a proof of which we may mention that in the recent collections for the improvement of the organ, the largest sum—nearly £70—was collected by him.

"Far from being dictatorial, we have found him most anxious to take counsel, not only with the vicar and his colleagues, but with all the parishioners who feel an interest in the well-being of the parish.

"WILLIAM BASHALL, Vicar.
"THOMAS MASON, "EDWARD GASKELL, "WILLIAM GREEN, } Churchwardens of Deane."

This letter, drafted by the vicar, and given to the writer to use in any way he liked, has been preserved as a memento of the

EDWARD GASKELL.

kindness thus shown to him by vicar and wardens, all of whom, including Mr. Heaton, who for good reasons did not sign the letter, have now, he is sorry to say, passed away.

And here let us add that the wardens were no party to Mr. Hulton's agreement with the ratepayers of Over Hulton.

Nor were the ratepayers of Over Hulton parties to, or mentioned in connection with, the wardens' arrangement with the squire.

And, accordingly, the receipt given to Mr. Hulton for the money, some days before the vestry meeting, was made out on behalf of the seatholders of Over Hulton.

Referring to this receipt at the vestry meeting, Mr. Hulton claimed that it should have been made out on behalf of the ratepayers of Over Hulton. With this, however, the meeting did not concur, and thus, pending a better understanding, the £30 was shown in the wardens' statement as a donation.

And for a like reason the vicar and wardens' letter was not made public.

Easter, however, coming round again, and peace no nearer, the junior warden declined re-election, and at the Rumworth annual ratepayers' meeting, at which Mr. Hulton was present, Mr. Henry Poole, than whom none better could have been selected, was nominated to the vacant office.

A day or two after, the writer received from the ever kind vicar a letter, as follows :—

"Deane, April 5th, 1871.

"Dear Sir,

"I enclose the bills which I have paid for hymn books and a new surplice, altogether £3 5s. 8d.; deduct seat-rate account, 10/-, £2 15s. 8d. will be the balance in my favour.

"Should I not have another opportunity, I trust you will allow me to take this one of expressing to you my sincere regret at your leaving an office which you have filled with so much efficiency, ability, and courtesy.

"And also my personal thanks for the great assistance you have ever rendered me since coming here, and the very satisfactory state in which church affairs have been during your tenure of office.

"I am, my dear sir,

"Most faithfully yours,

"Wm. Bashall.

"Mr. James Boardman."

Mr. Poole had not been present at the township meeting, and declining to accept office, the vicar wrote to the vestry meeting called for Easter-Tuesday the following letter :—

"Deane, April 11th, 1871.

"Gentlemen,

"I am unable to preside at the vestry meeting to-day.

"It would be a source of great satisfaction for me to hear, since Mr. Poole has declined to be churchwarden, that Mr. James Boardman has been prevailed upon to continue in office, the duties of which he has discharged with so much ability, fidelity, and courtesy.

"Should this, however, unfortunately not be the case, if he is willing to accept the office, and subject to the sanction and approval of the ordinary [bishop], I nominate him as vicar's churchwarden for the ensuing year.

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Faithfully yours,

"WILLIAM BASHALL."

Voted to the chair, guardian Walker read the letter to the meeting, after which it was moved and seconded that the old churchwardens be re-elected, which, put to the vote, was carried, Mr. Hulton alone opposing, on the ground that Mr. Poole, having been nominated at the township meeting, the vestry meeting had no alternative but to elect him.

Appealing to the archdeacon, Mr. Hulton's letter was communicated to the wardens on the day fixed for "swearing in," and, found to have been legally elected, the junior warden was, with his colleagues, duly sworn in.

In the following August, the wardens were kindly invited to dine with Mr. Hulton, the invitation to the writer being as follows :

"Hulton Park,

"August 16th, 1871.

"Mr. James Boardman,

"Churchwarden,

"Deane.

"Dear Sir,

"It is arranged the churchwardens dine with me at Mrs. Platt's on Friday, at one o'clock, August 18th.

"I hope it may suit you to dine with us that day.

"Yours faithfully,

"WM. FORD HULTON."

HENRY POOLE.

and kept the warden's account—gratuitously, it need hardly be said—since Church Rates were abolished.

For though present at the meeting, the writer had, at the end of the previous November, left his native village once more—the third time—to reside in London, where he remained during the next thirty-one years, and then, on January 1st, 1903, retired to Lytham, his present abode, and not so far distant from the old spot.

Preceding the vestry meeting, the usual annual meeting of ratepayers of Rumworth had been held in the schoolroom on the 18th of March, and, presiding, Vicar Bashall "said he would take that opportunity of alluding to the retirement of Mr. James Boardman, who had fulfilled the duties of churchwarden so zealously and efficiently, and of moving a resolution with respect to him.

"He had always found Mr. Boardman to be a zealous officer, a faithful friend, and a sincere lover of the church of which he was a member. He then proposed :

"That this meeting of ratepayers of Rumworth desires to tender Mr. James Boardman its thanks for his efficient and zealous services as churchwarden for the past five years ; and, while congratulating him on his advancement, expresses regret at his leaving their neighbourhood.

"This was seconded by Mr. Walker and Mr. Eckersley simultaneously, and adopted unanimously." Vide *Bolton Chronicle*, March 23rd, 1872.

In 1872 the ancient township of Rumworth was, for municipal purposes, divided into two townships ; one, the rural portion, taking the name of Deane, after the ancient village ; while the other, and more populous district, perpetuates the old township's name—Rumworth.

For two of its boundary lines the latter township has the south side of Deane Road and the east side of Daubhill Lane—singular to say, now known as Dean Church Lane, the name formerly given to the present Deane Road—and, incorporated with Bolton the same year, has ever since sent two representatives to the Borough Council, while later on it gave name to a new ward, presided over by Alderman Miles, the able organist and choirmaster of Deane Church.

From the minutes of a vestry meeting held April 15th, 1873, we hear once more, as under, of the £107 mentioned in Vicar Rothwell's time :—

"The vicar read an extract from the parish books relative to a sum of £107, which in the year 1766 had been deposited in the

Deane Church—Interior in Vicar Bashall's Time.

hands of the Hulton family and others, and for which Mr. Hulton has made an annual payment of £5 to the benefice.

"The vicar stated Mr. Hulton had given notice of paying up this money, and that it was for the parish to deal with it in trust for the benefit of the Living.

"It was resolved that the matter be left to the vicar and churchwardens to report to a future meeting."

The matter was again referred to at a vestry meeting held April 7th, 1874, as follows:—

"The vicar stated that he had applied to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to meet the sum of £100 [query, £107] paid to him by Mr. Hulton, and now in his possession, but had not heard if his application had been granted."

At this meeting "the vicar" also "mentioned the speedy need of an extension of the burial ground, and the matter was referred to the vicar and churchwardens."

And this latter matter, considered again a year later, March 30th, 1875, it was agreed "to make a plan of about an acre of the glebe land, and submit it to the bishop's secretary."

Later on, June 8th, 1875, the bishop's secretary having stated that the land in question must be conveyed to the parish and enclosed previous to consecration, a committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements, and on March 4th, 1876, the new portion of the burial ground was consecrated.

And it would appear from the wardens' annual report, 1875-6, made at this time, that, exclusive of the land given by the vicar from the glebe, there had been expended upon the extension £339, against which only £313 had been received, and to complete the drainage a further sum of £150 was required.

While from vestry minutes dated April 18th, 1876, we learn as follows:—

"The vicar read a statement concerning the expenditure incurred in the extension of the churchyard, and it was resolved:

"That in accordance with recommendations of the vicar and churchwardens, the fees in the churchyard in future be as follows:

"For graves west of the middle path - -	£2	0	0
" ,, east ,, ,, - -	1	10	0

"The charge for found places to be, for adults 2/6, and for infants 1/-.

"The surplus of such charge, after paying the usual fee heretofore, to go towards defraying the debt, and afterwards to be apportioned."

At the same meeting other matters, including the £107, were considered, and minuted as under:—

"Mr. Horsfield gave an account of the exchange of land which had been effected by the Tithe Commissioners between Mr. Hampson and the vicar [already referred to in Vicar Lathom's time].

"The vicar gave an account of the cost of the same, and said he still held the £100 [query, £107] referred to in a vestry of November 6th, 1766, paid by Mr. Hulton, on which it was resolved unanimously:

"That the expenses of the exchange, £33 14s. 6d., be paid out of this sum."

We now come to the last of the vestry minutes signed by Vicar Bashall, namely:—

"October 28th, 1876. Vestry meeting.

"The vicar reported that the total donations received for the extension of the churchyard were - - - £344 10 1

The total payments - - - - 386 10 8

"That the present debt and liabilities were:

To Treasurer - - - - -	42	0	7
„ Thos. Halliwell [Sexton] - - -	89	2	6
„ Mathew Hampson - - - -	6	19	6

"And it was agreed that the above should be paid off from the extra grave fees, unless defrayed previously by donations.

"W. Bashall, Vicar."

Health failing him, Vicar Bashall resigned the Living of Deane on the 7th of the following month, to the great regret of his parishioners, who four days before had presented him with a magnificent service of silver plate, consisting of a massive silver salter and an elegantly-chased silver tankard on a malachite stand.

The ancient practice of ringing the curfew bell at Deane was still observed in Mr. Bashall's time.

Returning to the South of England, and his health becoming much better, he the next year accepted the curacy of St. Barnabas, Kensington, and this he retained until 1883, when he retired into private life.

He died in August, 1902, at his house, Holland Villas, Kensington, aged 72, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery, in the vault of his ancestors.

His wife, a kind-hearted lady, and a numerous family of grown-up sons and daughters, one of whom is named Mariden, survive him.

Though a quarter of a century has nearly passed since they left Deane, Mr. and Mrs. Bashall are still remembered with feelings of affection by the older residents of the parish.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

HENRY SHERIDAN PATTERSON, 1877—

MR. PATTERSON, the present vicar, was, like his predecessor, Mr. Bashall, appointed to Deane by Lord Chancellor Cairns, "in full right on behalf of the Crown," so runs the Bishop's Certificate instituting him April 7th, 1877.

Educated at the Church Missionary College, Islington, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London in 1862, and priest by the Bishop of Calcutta, in 1865.

From 1862 to 1866 he laboured as a Missionary in India in connection with the Church Missionary Society.

Returning to England in the latter year, he held successively the office of curate at Bath Abbey Church, 1866-67, Melksham, Wilts, 1867-71, and St. Mary's, Leamington, 1871-1872.

In 1872 he was preferred to the rectory of Great with Little Bartlow, Cambridgeshire; this living he resigned in 1877 to accept that of Deane.

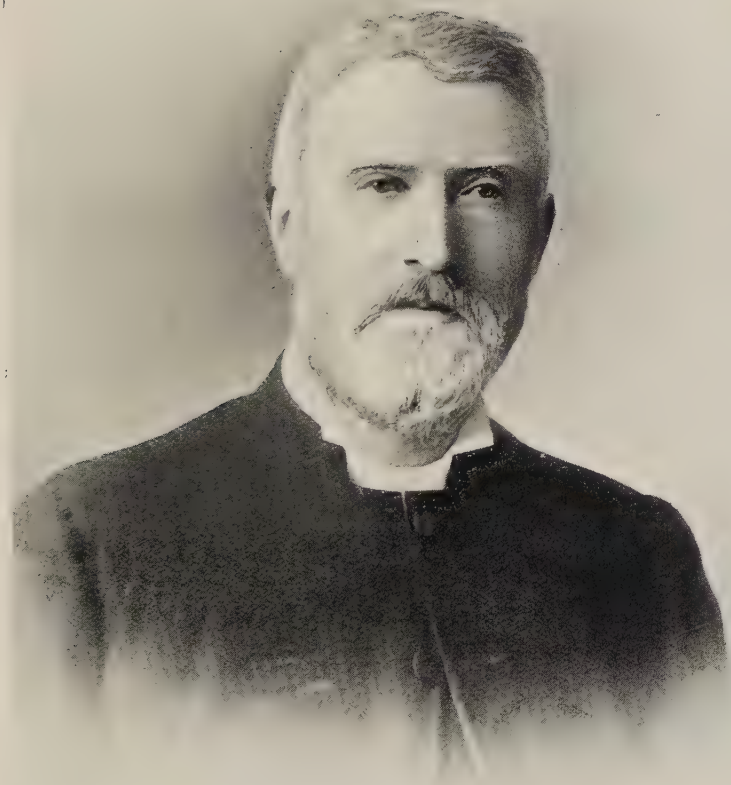
In the same year that he was appointed the advowson of Deane was transferred from the Lord Chancellor to the Simeon Trustees by purchase, under the Augmentation Act of 1863, 26 & 27 Vict., Cap. 120, the second transfer since it was held by the more noble Patron, the Sovereign.

The purchase money, £2,000, was paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by the Lord Chancellor's direction, and, in respect of over half this sum, an immediate annuity of £35 was secured to the present Vicar, while the other half is being accumulated, in accordance with the Act, until the next vacancy of the living, when a further annuity will be secured. Vide Crown Records, House of Lords.

The Rev. Charles Simeon, the founder of this trust, was born at Reading in 1759; and from Eton proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, where he gained a Scholarship (1779), and a Fellowship (1782).

Having taken orders, he became vicar of Trinity Church, Cambridge (1783), and vice-provost of his college (1790), both which posts he retained down to his death in 1836.

A zealous preacher and earnest promoter of missionary enterprise, he is looked upon as the father of the Evangelical, or Low



HENRY SHERIDAN PATTERSON.

Church party, whose permanence he sought to ensure by organising a system for the purchase of advowsons in the Church of England, to which Evangelically-minded ministers only should be presented. Vide Globe Encyclopædia, 1879.

The present trustees are:—Rev. D. Moule, Ven. Archdeacon Richardson, Rev. Dr. Barlow, Rev. Canon Girdlestone, D.D., and Rev. Eardley Wilmot, M.A.; and the livings in their gift now number 120, according to the Clergy List.

The minutes of the first meeting over which the vicar presided at Deane are recorded as follows:—

"At a meeting of churchwardens, held at Deane Church, May 8th, 1877.

"Present, Rev. H. S. Patterson (chairman), Messrs. Poole, Hampson, Horsfield [parish clerk], and Partington.

"It was proposed and decided to level a path to the new portion of churchyard.

"To excavate around the south and east end of church, so as to allow surface water to pass away.

"To have one pillar [in the middle aisle] scraped and the stone exposed, as an experiment, previous to deciding as to the repairing of the same."

In this year W. W. B. Hulton, Esq., made the generous gift of the handsome eagle lectern now seen at the chancel end of the middle aisle, so appropriately holding the large Holy Bible from which the lessons are read.

At a vestry meeting held October 18th, 1877, it was

"Unanimously passed that the debt owing to Thos. Halliwell, sexton, on account of draining, etc., the new churchyard, and amounting to £68 8s. 6d., and the amount owing to the Rev. W. Bashall, amounting to £42 10s. 0d., be paid off by the vicar; and that the fees which have been hitherto applied towards paying off the above debt go to the vicar in the future.

H. S. Patterson, Vicar, Chairman.
'Mathew Hampson.
"John Heaton Partington.
"Peter Holmes.
"James Stuart."

On October 31st, 1878, there were great rejoicings at Deane by farmers and others, in anticipation of the final closing at the coming midnight of what was then known as "Deane Church Toll Bar," erected in the year 1800.

In December of the same year, the church school at Lostock Junction was opened in connection with Deane Church.

This growing hamlet, sprung up in recent years, is blessed with two large cotton mills, owned by an exemplary employer, William Heaton, Esq., a descendant in all probability of the historic family of that name for many generations residing at the "Old Hall" in Heaton township, now occupied as a farmhouse.

Situated on an eminence a little way to the west of Broadgate, the hamlet overlooks the old narrow brick bridge over the Middlebrook, known as Rumworth Mill Bridge, the name given to the spot before the adjacent railway station, Lostock Junction*—from which the new hamlet now takes its name—was opened.

While the station itself, standing on land in Lostock and Heaton, is named after the former township.

At what date Rumworth Mill, associated with the old bridge, disappeared is not recorded. As a corn mill, it would doubtless be one of those provided in olden times by landowners for the use of their tenants.

For that purpose it was very conveniently situated, the old bridge being the only one then connecting, for vehicular traffic, the townships of Lostock, Horwich, etc., north of the Middlebrook, with Rumworth and other townships of Deane parish south of the same.

We know, however, that it was in existence more than 300 years ago, for Harleian MSS., recording inquisitions held in Queen Elizabeth's reign, tell us that in 1592 Christopher Anderton held the manors of Lostock, Heyton-subter-Horwich, and Tildesley with 100 messuages, 20 cottages, etc., 5 water-mills, and 60s. rents in the vills of Horwich, Rumworth, Shakerley, Halewood, and Halebank, &c. Vide Lanc. & Ches. His. Notes, vol. 3, p. 104.

Reached by a dilapidated old lane leading from the bridge, and within a mile to the west of it, stands also Lostock Hall, formerly the ancient seat of the Andertons, the impropriators of the tithes of Deane and Eccles, and owners of Lostock township for many generations.

The Andertons and the Heatons were near neighbours, and in time the demesnes of the latter became merged in those of the former family.

Referring to this, a writer in the Pictorial History of Lancashire, 1844, tells, after visiting Lostock Hall, the following story :—

* And in more recent years, ancient "Broadgate Road" has been re-named "Junction Road."

"A farmer of the neighbourhood, observing our curiosity, shewed us what he believed was a moat that formerly went round the tower. The old man was a descendant of a family named Heaton, who had owned the neighbouring township of that name, which he affirmed was lost to his family by the knavery of the then owner of Lostock Tower.

"This person had advanced a considerable sum of money upon the estate and manors of Heaton, which was to be repaid within a specified time, or the estate was to be forfeited.

"The day came; it was late in the evening before the Heatons were able to collect the money to redeem their property; and, what was worse, the Lostock family had retired to bed, and could not be roused that night.

"Next day the money was refused, and the forfeiture claimed.

"Our informant was standing by a brook which runs across the road within view of the tower when he related the tradition; and we well remember the awful face he put on as he added, that after that night the very horses that belonged to the tower always snorted and refused to pass that stream, nor was there any alternative but to lead them into the road another way."

Tradition is seldom wholly inaccurate, we are told, and the foregoing humorous story contains, probably, some measure of truth, though ten generations have passed away since the old hall and estates of Heaton were handed over to the Andertons.

Bailey in his foot-notes to "Inventories of Church Goods," Chetham Society's vol. 107, page 30, makes the following reference to the transfer:—

"In 16 Elizabeth, 1573-4, Radus Heyton de Bricheley releases the manor of Heyton to Christopher Anderton de Lostock. This document mentions Will Heyton, civis et mercator scissor [citizen and merchant tailor] of London (Cf. Not. Cest., vol. 2, pp. 39-40; Gibson's Lydiate Hall, pp. 50-54)."

Besides this William, there was residing in London at this time, and had been for many years, another member of the Heaton family, namely, George Heaton, probably the uncle of the former.

In King Edward the Sixth's reign this George, then resident at the ancient family seat at Heaton, married, so Baines tells us, Johanna, daughter of the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, Knt., and their son, Martin Heaton, born in 1552, three years before the martyrdom of George Marsh, became Bishop of Ely

Evidently, from this, George Heaton's business connection with London tradesmen extends back to a date anterior to his marriage, and in Queen Mary's reign we find him master of the house belonging to the English merchants at Antwerp.

While here he showed great kindness and hospitality to those of his customers he came across, fled from Queen Mary's persecution; and on his return to London he was elected Chamberlain of the City of London.

His son he now sent to Westminister School, and later on, 1571, to Oxford, where, greatly distinguishing himself, Martin became, in 1578 canon of Christ Church.

Five years later he was admitted Bachelor of Divinity, and, soon after, Doctor in that faculty, while in 1588 he became Vice-Chancellor of his University, and next year he was preferred to the deanery of Winchester, from whence, in 1599, he was made Bishop of Ely by Queen Elizabeth.

In this office he continued until his death at Milden Hall, Suffolk, in July, 1609, and was buried in the south aisle of his cathedral, where his two daughters,—Anne, married to Sir Robert Filmer, of Sutton, Kent, Baronet, and the other to Sir Edward Fishe, of Bedfordshire, Baronet,—erected a very elegant monument to his memory.

The bishop was looked upon as a learned, pious, aud charitable man, and not the "proud prelate" Queen Elizabeth termed him when, on a well-known occasion, she blasphemously threatened to unfrock him.

He is said to have been a fat man, and King James the First complimented him, after a sermon, by saying "Fat men are apt to make lean sermons; but yours are not lean, but larded with good learning."

A few moments ago reference was made to "Gibson's Lydiate Hall," a work we have not yet met with. We learn, however, from Baines, that the hall and manor of that name are in the parish of Halsall.

From the Lydiate family, Baines also tells us, the manor was inherited, through marriage, by Robert de Blackburne, 1392, whose daughter and heiress, Agnes, conveyed it by marriage to Thomas Ireland, of Huth and Hale.

Their descendants failing in male issue, Sir Charles Anderton, the second baronet of that name, married the last daughter and heiress of that line.

William Ford Hulton, Esquire.

Lydiate descended to Francis Anderton, the sixth and last baronet, who, we have already seen in Vicar Latham's time, died in 1745, and the estate then came to Charles Blundell of Ince.

Returning to the church books, in 1878 William Ford Hulton, Esquire, generously defrayed the cost of improving and putting into a thoroughly efficient state the church organ at Deane.

Mr. Hulton was residing at Southport at this time, for the benefit of his health, and on May 18th, 1879, he unfortunately died, at the age of sixty-seven.

He was interred five days later in the family vault at Deane, in the presence of a large number of sympathising spectators, respected alike by rich and poor.

His son, W. W. B. Hulton, Esquire, already referred to, succeeded to the family estates.

On the 5th of March, 1880, the church at Daubhill, dedicated to St. George the Martyr, was consecrated by the Bishop of Manchester.

Previously, when the corner-stone was laid in September, 1878, it was hoped that the sacred edifice, when completed, would be known to posterity as "The Marsh Memorial Church," the name then given to it.

In this, however, the parishioners were disappointed, for it was afterwards found that a bishop of the Church of England was prohibited from consecrating a church unless dedicated to a saint. This illustrates the old saying, "a distinction without a difference," for George Marsh was really as much a saint as his brother martyr, St. George, though he had not, like the latter, been canonised.

At a vestry meeting held the 27th of April, 1882, "It was proposed and agreed to

"That the matter of the £100 paid by the Rev. W. Bashall, late vicar, to his successor, the Rev. H. S. Patterson, be left to the decision of Messrs. J. L. Rushton, T. Holden, and Canon Powell."

This would appear to refer to the sum handed by Mr. Hulton to Mr. Bashall, already referred to, and the above is the last we learn of it.

On October 15th, 1883, a vestry meeting was held, at which the following resolutions, having reference to the restoration of the venerable church, were passed:—

"Moved by W. W. B. Hulton, Esq., and seconded by Mr. James Hough, churchwarden: That the following gentlemen allow

their names to remain as an honorary committee for the restoration of Deane Church."

Here follows a long list of names, including those of the vicar and churchwardens.

"The following gentlemen were appointed the executive committee, with power to add thereto:—The vicar and churchwardens; W. W. B. Hulton, Esq.; John Lewis, Esq.; Messrs. W. Hough, P. Boardman, J. Heathcott, Rev. R. H. Snape, and Rev. J. E. Jump.

"Also, that Mr. Freeman be appointed architect to carry out the restoration.

"Also, that the restoration of the church do consist of a new roof over the nave and chancel.

"The removal of the bays of the gallery at the east end; one on the north side, and the other on the south side. [Finally, however, the whole of the galleries were removed.]

"The removal of the west gallery.

"The re-erection of the organ in the north bay. [Then in the west gallery, the organ was eventually transferred to a chamber built for it on the north side of the chancel.]

"The re-fitting of the Hulton chapel, in the south bay. [Chapel erected on ground floor of this bay, instead.]

"Such re-arrangement of pews as may be found necessary.

"The lengthening the chancel, if approved of, and such other work as may be required.

"That steps be taken to obtain a faculty to enable the work to be carried out.

"N.B. The re-fitting of the Hulton chapel, and the re-arrangement of the pews assigned to the manor of Hulton, will be done at the expense of W. W. B. Hulton, Esq.

"H. S. Patterson, Vicar,
"Chairman."

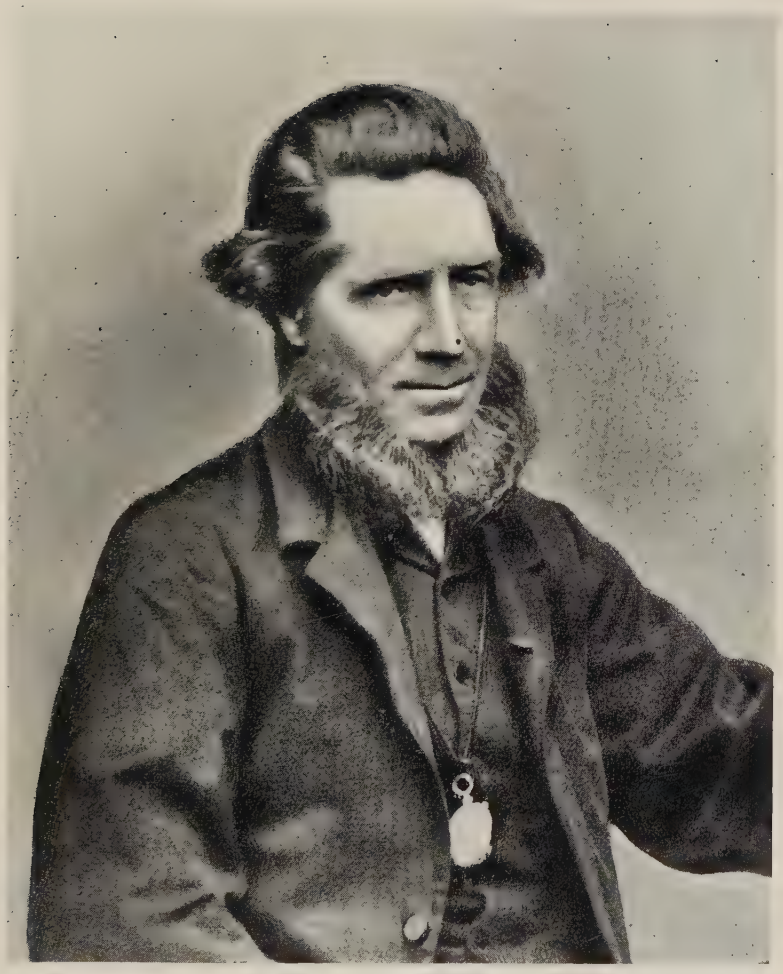
At the first meeting of the executive committee, January 16th, 1884, Mr. Horsfield, appointed secretary, was "requested to provide receipt book for donations.

"Account to be opened at Manchester and Salford Bank, Ltd., Bolton Branch.

"Architect to apply for tenders, to be addressed to the vicar.

"Mr. Freeman to apply for a faculty.

"Donations received, £1,040 4s. 0d."



JOHN HORSFIELD.

Other meetings of the executive committee followed; at the one held May 15th, 1884, the last of which we have any account, donations reported to that date amounted to £2,248 4s. 1d.

And on the next page, the final one, reference is made to the expenditure, as follows:—

"Restoration of Deane Church.

"Expenditure. Accounts paid and vouchers:—May 2nd, 1884, to May 7th, 1885, £2,568 6s. 0d."

The organ, restored, was placed on the north side of the church, as already stated; the design for its front and the new screen at the west end of the church were suggested by woodwork of the Middle Ages, while that of the communion table is of the perpendicular period.

Restoration completed, the sacred edifice was re-opened by the Bishop of Manchester, December 22nd, 1884.

With the restoration came the end of the seat rate—the loss from the sittings in the galleries, 274,* amounting to over £50 annually—and the weekly offertory was substituted.

Two years later Mr. John Horsfield retired from the office of Parish Clerk, which he had held since 1853, and was the last of laymen elected to the office.

The post of schoolmaster he had, as we have already seen, relinquished as far back as 1871, after occupying it since 1840.

Much esteemed, he had filled both offices with great credit to himself and satisfaction to the parishioners, and many are there of his surviving students who, like the writer, have benefited by his services and teaching.

He died April 4th, 1889, aged seventy-four, and his remains were, five days later, borne to the family vault in Deane churchyard, by eight of his oldest scholars:—

William Halliwell, Manchester; John Partington, Bolton; Joseph Hibbert, Hunger Hill; James Hibbert, Manchester; Thomas Partington, Westhoughton; Charles Mason, Deane; James Tonge, Chequerbent; James Boardman, London.

A large concourse of friends, and among them other old scholars, attended the obsequies.

* In the south 118, the north 109, and the organ gallery 47.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

AFTER a long rest from repairs, it was found in November, 1695, that the interior of the church tower and the bell bearings were in so dilapidated a condition as to interfere with further ringing until thoroughly renovated.

And on the 23rd of that month there appeared in the "Bolton Chronicle" the following letter from the vicar :—

"THE DEANE BELLS.

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'BOLTON CHRONICLE.'

"SIR,—The reason of the silence of these bells for some time is as follows :—

"1. The removal of the stone stairs and the tie which the steps afforded in S.E. corner, has rendered that part of the tower weak and dangerous, and it will be *strengthened* at once.

"2. The bell bearings, &c., are all so *worn* away that the bell manufacturers have warned us of the great danger of continued ringing till they are *renewed*, which is also now in progress.

"3. There is space for two small bells, about 5 or 6 cwt., to make up the *Octave*. If put in they would balance the weight, and their timbers would rather strengthen the tower. The correct tone (F sharp) can be assured, and about £50 would pay for the bells, and £25 put them in position. Perhaps some one interested may present one or more, and render the octave complete.

"Yours, &c.,

"H. S. PATTERSON,

"Vicar."

Desirous of acknowledging his gratitude for the many blessings he owed to the dear old church and schools of his native village, the writer, through Alderman John Miles, J.P., contributed one bell, while Alderman W. Nicholson, J.P., a mutual friend of both, and also a lover of the church, subscribed the other.

The very kind way in which these exemplary aldermen entertained the matter is beyond all praise, as will be seen from the following extract from a letter addressed by Alderman Miles to the writer at the time :—

"I feel I am now permitted to mention your name, and when I gave your first letter to Alderman W. Nicholson to read over,

WILLIAM NICHOLSON.

after having carefully pinned some blank paper over your address and name, he said 'I know where it has come from—James Boardman,' and he at once offered a like sum. He has been very good to me in our new organ, 1887."

Here it may be well to say that this letter from Alderman Miles was in reply to one from the writer, who, though he had at first desired that his name might not appear, afterwards came to see how desirable it was to leave the matter in the hands of the worthy alderman; and he did so in the following words:—

"With regard to disclosing my name, that I leave entirely in your judicious hands, my wish, that of keeping alive my thankfulness for the many blessings I owe to the dear old church and schools, for my earliest training in religious as well as in secular matters, having, thanks to your great kindness, been gratified, and that in the most pleasing and interesting manner, and probably with greater enduring pleasure than a millionaire can ever expect to get out of his great wealth."

Thus initiated, the subscription list, so cheerfully taken up by Alderman Miles, and approved of by the vicar, eventually amounted to the gratifying sum of £198 9s.

A copy of the list, taken from the wardens' balance sheet for the year ending Easter, 1897, is printed here to prove to the descendants of all subscribers that "such good works and alms deeds" are not forgotten even in this world:—

	£	s.	d
James Boardman	25	0	0
Ald. W. Nicholson, J.P.	25	0	0
William Heaton	25	0	0
Carlton Cross	20	0	0
Councillor John Haslam	5	0	0
Mrs. Marsh	5	0	0
William Tong	5	0	0
William Knowles	5	0	0
Alderman T. B Tong	5	0	0
Thomas Magee, J.P.	5	0	0
Joseph Magee	5	0	0
Dr. Mallett	5	0	0
Joseph Lord	5	0	0
William Hargreaves	5	0	0
Peter Tong	5	0	0
Ernest Knowles	5	0	0
J. H. Hargreaves	5	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Rev. H. S. Patterson	5	0	0
Alderman Greenwood	5	0	0
Frank Hargreaves	5	0	0
Joseph Cross	5	0	0
Miss Haddock, Westhoughton	5	0	0
Peter Kevan	2	0	0
Mrs. Edward Cross	2	2	0
John Bolton	2	0	0
Councillor Greenwood	1	1	0
Councillor T. E. Smith	1	1	0
Dr. Young	1	1	0
Dr. Morris	1	1	0
William Kevan	1	1	0
Councillor Kearsley	0	10	6
Councillor Horrocks	0	10	6
Taylor & Sons, Loughborough	1	1	0

The committee appointed to carry out this important work was composed as follows:—The Rev. H. S. Patterson, vicar, chairman; Alderman Miles, J.P., hon. treasurer; wardens W. Crompton, W. Chadwick, and F. Thompson (hon. architect); sidesmen S. Warburton, F. Hewitt, J. Farnworth, and W. Sharples; the Rev. F. Cleworth, B.A., curate, hon. sec.

And on Wednesday, May 20th, 1896, the work having been successfully accomplished, the bells were dedicated, at a short service held in the venerable church, at 7-30 in the evening.

The following brief reference to the bells, tower, and opening ceremony is taken from the "Bolton Chronicle" of May 23rd, 1896:

"DEANE CHURCH NEW BELLS.

"DEDICATION AND OPENING.

"The two new bells presented to Deane Parish Church were formally dedicated on Wednesday evening, and afterwards there were opening peals rung upon the whole set of eight—the original six having been renovated and re-set upon an improved principal, the tower walls having been re-built internally, and strengthened. On account of some portions of this tower having become defective and unsafe, through the effect of time and wear and tear, the old bells have not been used collectively for about six months, and their re-opening was much welcomed, considerable interest being taken in the event by present and former parishioners, who mustered in large numbers for Wednesday's proceedings, which commenced at seven o'clock by a brief dedication service, conducted by the Rev. H. S. Patterson, Vicar of Deane, assisted by the Rev. F. Cleworth, B.A., Curate. There were also present Mr. Alderman Miles, J.P., organist and choirmaster of Deane Church; Messrs. W. Crompton, W. Markland, and Jacques, wardens; Messrs. S. Warburton, J. H. Mather, J. Farnworth, W. Sharples; and Mr. James Boardman, of London, a former warden of Deane. During the dedicatory ceremony the hymn beginning 'Jesus! where'er Thy people meet,' was sung, as was also the Doxology, after which Mr. Boardman 'pulled off' one of the new bells, Mr. Miles officiating in a similar way at the other; and subsequently the entire peal were put into operation by the Deane Church ringers, the tone being soon recognised as exceedingly satisfactory, the new bells harmonising beautifully with the old ones."

The bells, a peal of eight, now run in the order of F sharp (treble), E, D sharp, C sharp, B, A sharp, G sharp, and F sharp (tenor), the first two being the new ones.

DEANE CHURCH—NORMAN ARCH OF NORTH DOOR,
AND PRESENT VICAR.

All the old bells were taken down and renovated, and the tower walls re-built internally.

The upper storey bells rest upon iron girders let into the walls, and these strengthen the tower, while the bearings and frames of the bells are such that the bells run sweetly and there is no fear of oscillation.

The wardens' accounts show an expenditure on tower and bells as under:—

Taylor Bros. - - -	£203	18	6
Page & Sons (masons) - -	65	0	0
Glover Bros. - - -	28	19	1
	£297	17	7

In the same statement of accounts there appears a donation of £65 from "Green's Charity, for tower account," and this evidently refers to the corresponding item seen above; while later on two other contributions—1898, £50; 1899, £65—are recorded as from the same charity, making in all £180.*

This bequest to the church was not all the good Mr. Richard Green did in the way of charity, for he also left £1,500 to that most useful institution, the Bolton Infirmary, the chairman and treasurer of which is Alderman W. Nicholson.

Mr. Green was a farmer and native of Middle Hulton, and well known to the writer, when warden, as a constant worshipper in the north gallery of the venerable church; and he evidently died as he had lived, an exemplary Christian and churchman.

It was while the tower and bells were receiving careful renovation that Alderman Miles communicated to the writer, in March, 1896, the happy suggestion that the ground floor of the tower could be converted into a choir vestry, hitherto much needed, and a passage connecting it with the clergy vestry made through the intervening tower wall.

This, it will be desirable to say, was an alternative proposal to one that the writer had made some months before, with regard to restoring the Norman arch at the north door of the church, and, concurring in the suggestion, he at once sent the alderman a cheque for £35, to cover the estimated cost, £30 5s.

* "To be used from time to time for the general repairs of the church," so says the Will, proved April, 1895.

Some time elapsing, however, before the work was put in hand, it was not until the 5th of January, 1897, that Alderman Miles advised the writer of its successful completion, in an interesting letter, as under:—

"You will be glad to know that for the last two or three Sundays we have occupied the new vestry under the tower.

"Immediately after your last interview, energetic measures were taken to make a road from one vestry to the other, with the above result.

"We are not now required to take up room in the church that ought to be occupied by the congregation.

"The choir file out in two rows through the doors of the tower vestry.

"We are now having the room made decent and as light as possible; also that part of the clergy vestry added to our use, as ours is not quite large enough.

"You will see how this is adapted by the plan I send herewith. This plan has been under the consideration of vicar and wardens with the view of raising the present clergy vestry to provide a room for all documents, books, &c., and they request me to send on the plan to you for your inspection."

The writer, much appreciating this further proposal, wrote to the alderman accordingly, and on Saturday, the 20th of November, 1897, he was accorded, in the presence of vicar, wardens, and numerous friends, the privilege of formally opening the new choir vestry and of re-opening the old, but enlarged and improved, clergy vestry; and, at his desire, a spiral staircase was afterwards added, affording access to the muniment room above.

How fortunate to have preserved the alderman's interesting letters; for though so important, the wardens' statement of accounts for the following Easter, 1898, makes no reference to either the new vestry in the tower or to the enlargement, etc., of the old vestry.

And all that could be learned at the time was that the cost had been included with other payments in the wardens' statement, as follows:—

"Repairs to church and vestry:—

"B. Crompton, plumbing, &c. - -	£8	2	6
S. Sherratt, joiner - - - -	15	9	0
J. Marsden & Co., heating apparatus	7	10	0
H. Jones, painter - - - -	16	0	0
Glover Bros., stonemasons - -	75	0	0

Corporation, gas repairs - -	2	1	5	
J. Platt, church gates, etc. - -	1	11	0	
				£125 13 11
" Tower :—				
" S. Sherratt, joiner - - - -	14	7	0	
W. Sharples, mason - - -	5	12	0	
E. Nicholas & Son, plasterers -	2	13	9	
				£22 12 9"

Thus are we left without trace, in the church books, of either donors or cost, an omission the effect of which is seen in the following extract, taken from the "Bolton Evening News" of April 13th, 1898:—

"The annual vestry meeting for this [Deane] parish was held in Deane Church on Tuesday evening, when there was a good attendance. The vicar, Rev. H. S. Patterson, presided.

"The proceedings were held in the new vestry [really the old vestry enlarged], which has been re-modelled from the old one, the cost of which, £215 9s. 9d., has been defrayed by Mr. James Boardman, of London, who was formerly connected with the church.

"The new apartment affords considerably more accommodation than before, and by means of a spiral staircase access is gained to a storeroom above.

"Important improvements have also been effected in the lower portion of the belfry, where the singers' vestry is now situated, and this being immediately opposite the centre aisle is more convenient for the singers."

Thus credited with the gift of the new and the enlargement, etc., of the old vestry, let us hasten to say that the £215 9s. 9d., evidently taken from the debit side of the wardens' statement, is really composed of the following donations:—

" New choir vestry in tower - - -	£35	0	0*
Old vestry improvements - - -	7	5	7
Spiral staircase - - - - -	16	12	6
Marsh memorial window - - -	100	0	0
Yew trees, ivies, and planting, &c. -	25	11	4
Iron rails for protecting the old yew tree, &c., and Tilsley's tomb - - -	21	14	10
Ringers' peal board - - - -	9	5	6
	£215	9	9"

* The cost of the enlargement of the old vestry and the added muniment room doubtless came from Mr. Green's Legacy.

The peal board just alluded to was unveiled in the belfry at the same time as the opening of the new vestry and the enlarged and improved old vestry.

It bears inscriptions as follows :—

"On Saturday, July 25th, 1896, eight members of the above association rang on the bells of this church a peal of Kent Treble Bob Major, containing 5,088 changes, in two hours and forty-three minutes, the following being the ringers :—Harry Chapman, treble; Joseph Ireland, 2nd; Alfred Cross, 3rd; George F. Woodhouse, 4th; John Welsby, 5th; James H. Ridyard, 6th; Frederick Derbyshire, 7th; Richard Ridyard, tenor. Composed by Obadiah Lang, and conducted by Richard Ridyard. This is the first peal on the bells in any method.

"On Monday, March 22nd, 1897, eight members of the local company rang on these church bells a peal of Bob Major, containing 5,040 changes, in two hours and fifty-seven minutes, the band standing as follows :—James Halliwell, treble; Thomas Peers, 2nd; Joshua Harper, 3rd; James Taylor, 4th; John Moscrop, 5th; William Duckworth, 6th; Richard Heald, 7th; Titus Barlow, tenor. Composed by William Shipway, and conducted by James Halliwell. This is the first peal in any method rung by the local company alone, and the first peal of the above by the Bolton branch.

	Wardens :	*Sidesmen :*
"Deane	J. Clegg.	W. J. Redford.
Middle Hulton	W. Crompton.	J. H. Mather.
Over Hulton	S. Warburton.	A. G. McCarter.

"H. S. Patterson, Vicar.

"Presented by James Boardman, of London, a former warden."

Some time back we alluded to the subdivision of the ancient township of Rumworth into two townships, one taking the name of Deane, after the village, the other the old name of Rumworth; an arrangement having for its object the inclusion of the latter with the adjoining borough of Bolton.

Now we find the ratepayers of Deane township holding a meeting in the national schools, on the evening of July 12th, 1897, "To consider the proposals of the Corporation of Bolton to acquire the township of Deane, and pass such resolution or resolutions as may be deemed desirable.

Deane Church—North Side, 1897.

"Mr. W. H. Poole presided as the Chairman of the Parish Council, and amongst the moderate company who assembled were: Messrs. T. Brocklehurst (District Councillor), D. Whitehead, J. Platt, G. F. Haslam, L. Wild, T. M. Morris, J. Gornall, J. Higson, &c.

"The Chairman, having briefly opened the proceedings, the Clerk (Mr. J. Fearnhead) read the terms submitted to the township by the Bolton Corporation, copies of which had been supplied to every ratepayer. It was explained that the whole of the township was proposed to become incorporated, and that Deane included the part of Chew Moor up to the stream near Chew Moor Mill.

"In reply to a question, the Clerk intimated that Deane would not share in the water profits until the expiration of the 15 years fixed rating period. They would benefit by the reduction of the charges for water, however, and they would also share in the profits from the gas, electricity, and tramways undertakings.

"A discussion took place upon the tramways question, and it was stated that if the borough was extended the Corporation would lay the tramways to Deane within the period of three years stipulated by the Borough Bill.

"A Ratepayer wanted to know if the trams were to go down Hulton Causeway instead of Deane Church Lane?

"The Chairman, replying, said the arrangement at present existing was that the tramway would first be carried to the Finger Post at Deane and then across Deane Church Lane to the station, joining up with the present tram line at Daubhill. Mr. Hulton had made an arrangement with the borough that a line should run from Daubhill Station to Parnell Bar,* ultimately coming along Hulton Lane to Deane and joining the Deane tramway at the Finger Post. The Deane portion would be laid first, and the Hulton Lane portion would not be put down until the landowners had given the requisite land, and the thoroughfare had been widened as required. It might be ten or fifteen years before the Hulton Causeway length was laid.

"This explanation was deemed satisfactory by the meeting.

"Regarding the grouping of the townships of Deane and Lostock for representation purposes, the Clerk said that Deane would have two councillors and Lostock one, the alderman to be elected by the three councillors.

* A disused toll bar at the junction of Hulton Lane with St. Helens Road.

"The Chairman added that Lostock would be practically absorbed by Deane, and the old name of Deane would be perpetuated.

"The terms are so complete and generous that other districts have accepted them almost without comment.

"A resolution was proposed by Mr. Platt, and seconded by Mr. Wild, that the terms submitted be adopted and signed, subject to any variations that future negotiations may show to be necessary.

"The resolution was carried unanimously, 32 ratepayers voting for and none against." Vide "Bolton Chronicle," July 17th, 1897.

Incorporated with the borough next year, Deane and Lostock townships now constitute, for municipal purposes, one district, "Deane-cum-Lostock," with a representation on the Council of one alderman, James Platt, and three councillors, two for Deane—Joseph Hibbert and L. Wild—and one for Lostock.

Here seen more closely connected, especially as regards Deane, the most interesting portion of it, old Rumworth and Lostock have been associated in historical documents from time immemorial.

So far back as 1205 we read of Richard de Pierpoint, also written Perpount, being interested in property lying in the two townships, as will be seen from the following summary of proceedings of a lawsuit dated that year:—

"At the Exchequer, London, on Thursday next, after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist, 7 John [20th October, 1205]. Between Robert Gresley [Baron of Manchester], plaintiff, by Theobald Hautein put in his place, and Richard de Pierpoint, tenant of 40 acres of wood with the appurtenances in Lostock and Rumworth; a jury of grand assize had been summoned between them.

"Richard acknowledged the wood to be the right of Robert, and rendered it to him; for this acknowledgment Robert gave him a gold ring." Vide Lancs. and Ches. Records, vol. 40, p. 24.

Added to the above is a foot note as follows:—

"This suit was commenced in Mich. Term, 5 John. Richard de Pierpoint prayed for a grand assize, whereupon Ranulf de Marsey, son of Roger, Roger de Middleton, Richard de Worsley, and William de Turton were appointed to elect twelve to form the grand assize."

And later on, in the time—1265—of the pious donor of Deane Glebe, Thomas de Perpount, the probable grandson of the above Richard, we find the Pierpoints held of the Barony of Manchester,

"the three adjoining townships of Rumworth, Lostock, and Rivington," the two former of which passed, we are told, to the Hultons.

Afterwards came the Andertons of Lostock Hall, the Impropriators of Deane tithes for many generations.

And when we think of it, one wonders why Lostock was not, in olden time, included in Deane parish, seeing that the two townships of Heaton and ancient Rumworth intervene between it and Bolton, its mother parish.

We have already briefly alluded to the stained glass window placed in the venerable church and dedicated to the glory of God and in memory of George Marsh. It was unveiled at the evening service on Wednesday, the 10th March, 1897, the Bishop of Ballarat, now Suffragan Bishop of Blackburn, preaching the sermon.

Taking for his text, "They overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the work of their testimony, and they loved not their lives, even unto death," "the Bishop spoke as follows," says the "Bolton Chronicle" of March 13th :—

"The chapter and its vision held in solution the principles of Christ's true church, which waged truceless but winning war on earth, in every age and land, against the dragon and his doings. These principles were precipitated from time to time—or impersonated—in individuals, such as St. George, in the fourth century, and George Marsh, in the sixteenth. They were met to do honour to God's grace that made the latter the hero that he was, in an awful age of English history. Its lessons should never be forgotten, and Deane folk were right in keeping their local martyr 'in everlasting remembrance.' His career well illustrated—like St. George's—the triple secret, revealed in the text, of victory in 'the Holy War.' No message 'overcomes' in the mission field but that of the cross. St. George bears the blood-red cross on his tunic, shield, and banner, and Christ crucified was the beginning and end of George Marsh's life and teaching. Testimony was symbolised in St. George's lance thrust in the gaping dragon's mouth. Mere religious clatter was a pitiful and pestilent thing! but there was too much cowardly dumbness with some Christians in these days, when the enemy was outspoken enough. The word of our testimony was to be no second-hand, borrowed utterance, but the flow of a living soul's experience; such was that of the martyrs of Mary's days; and so potent was their witness that the cruel Queen ordered their tongues to be cut out, unless they would promise silence at the stake. George Marsh's words were noble, full of loyalty and

meekness, but unflinching for the truth; and people would gather outside his cell at Lancaster to hear him sing or read Scripture aloud within. Self-devotion is the one argument the world cannot answer. By it the first Christians vanquished the Roman Emperors, with all their legions and their cruelty. Diogenes with his lantern failed to find a 'true man' in the land of Leonidas and Mittiader; but might have found him among the Christians! One could sympathise with the passionate enthusiasm of the early believers for the tombs, and even relics of the martyrs; for these were the champions who really won the field. Victorious St. George wears the martyr's wreath upon his helm. In Mary's days it was not the aristocracy, but ministers and working folks, who died to preserve the Gospel for England, and George Marsh had been both. He loved Christ, but not his life in comparison. 'Not on those terms,' he said, when offered it. 'I will bear any cross Christ lays upon me,' and truly it was a heavy one! He bore it nobly. Mr. Boardman, an old parishioner, had resolved in his London home to help his old parish to remember Marsh; and the beautiful triple window the preacher had been asked to dedicate as a memorial of the martyr, and of God's mercies, was his free gift. Nor had it been his only gift. There was nothing to pay then for the window; but they would not like to break up without making some thank offering to God! What they gave would go towards sending faithful pastors to minister the pure Gospel George Marsh had died for to the scattered settler in the Australian bush. The Bishop closed a copious sermon by formerly declaring the new windows dedicated to the glory of God and in memory of his saintly martyr, George Marsh, of Deane.

"The stained window, depicting, 'Faith, Hope, and Charity,' occupies a commanding position in the north aisle of the church. Upon the window appears the following inscription: 'To the Glory of God, and in memory of George Marsh, burned at Chester, 1555. Erected by James Boardman, of London, formerly warden of the church, 1897.' Mr. and Mrs. Boardman, who are both natives of Deane, had spared no expense in having the design elaborately and truthfully treated, the window being given to the church as a thank offering for 40 years of happy married life."

"The window," says the "Bolton Journal" and "Guardian" of the same dates, "is situated in the north aisle, and is of handsome design. It consists of three lights. In the dexter light is depicted the Figure of Faith, bearing in her hand the cross, the

DEANE CHURCH—MARSH MEMORIAL WINDOW.

"To the glory of God, and in memory of George Marsh, burnt at Chester, 1555. Erected by James Boardman, of London, formerly Warden of the Church, 1897."

emblem of faith, surrounded by a group of allegorical figures setting forth the far-reaching influence faith has. The sinister light represents Hope bearing the emblem, the anchor, and grouped figures, in an attitude of devotion, are placed in the foreground. The centre light—Charity—depicts her clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, and giving the thirsty to drink, the grouping of the figures of the children being very tasteful and effective. The window is a beautiful piece of work, the grouping of the figures is very fine, and the colouring leaves nothing to be desired. Immediately above this window is a smaller three light window, the subjects of which are the Patriarchs, Moses, Aaron, and David. The robing of these figures is very striking, and is thrown out well by the quite plain quarries of the background."

From another "cutting" sent to us, but lacking reference, we gather the following :—

"From the standpoint of the antiquary the interesting memories surrounding Deane Church are invaluable, and a close study of the connecting links with past ages, which abound in this ancient edifice, cannot but be beneficial to anyone who has a love of historic lore, and also prove of considerable value. It is, therefore, interesting to learn that these cherished evidences of bygone days, which so deeply concerned our ancestors, are being preserved with the affection they deserve, and the other evening an important addition was made when a memorial window was unveiled commemorative of the martyrdom of George Marsh, who perished for his opinions at Chester in 1555, during the persecutions. Besides imparting beauty to the interior of the church, for it is certainly a work of art, it revives in the mind the feeling of pride in the men who were willing to die rather than forego their principles, and who thereby conferred lasting credit on the religion which they so steadfastly revered."

CHAPTER LXXIX.

AT the annual vestry meeting, held on Easter Tuesday, 1898, Mr. Crompton, one of the wardens, proposed an alteration in the mode of nominating wardens for Middle and Over Hulton. It had been the custom to nominate them at the annual ratepayers' meetings, but he now proposed, instead, that they be elected at the annual vestry meeting, along with the Rumworth warden; and, seconded by Mr. McCarter, the proposition was agreed to.

In Vicar Latham's time we made passing reference to sermons held in aid of Sunday schools. The following account, taken from the "Bolton Chronicle" of July 1st, 1899, refers to the annual sermons held at Deane on the previous Sunday, June 25th :—

"DEANE CHURCH.—The annual services in aid of the Sunday and day schools connected with this very ancient Parish Church were held on Sunday, with gratifying success. The celebration began with the customary procession in the morning, headed by the Vicar (Rev. H. S. Patterson), the Curate (Rev. T. Cole), the church officers and the teachers and scholars mustering in unusually large numbers. Hymns were sung on Wigan Road and in Deane Church Lane; and at the end of the return march the time-honoured custom of rendering the 'Old Hundredth' round the venerable yew tree in the churchyard was observed. The morning preacher was the Rev. Canon Cremer, M.A., Vicar of Eccles; the pulpit in the afternoon and evening being occupied by the Rev. Stanton Jones, B.A., of St. Polycarp's, Everton. The regular choir of Deane Church, under the conductorship of Mr. Alderman J. Miles, J.P., organist and choirmaster, rendered three anthems during the day—'Praise the Lord and call upon His name' (Sir George Elvey), 'The Lord is my Light' (Dr. Hiles), and 'O God, Thou art my God' (Jackson); while a special choir of young girls sang hymns at all the services. The sacred edifice was crowded on each occasion, many persons being unable to obtain admission in the morning. In the afternoon and evening open-air services were conducted in the churchyard by the Rev. T. Cole, assisted by Mr. R. Burton, Police Court Missionary. The total offertories realised £122 1s. 11d.—an increase of £32 upon last year—£43 being collected in the churchyard. At the close of the evening service in the church the Doxology was heartily sung as a 'final.'"

DEANE CHURCH—"SCHOOL SERMONS," 1901.

On a later occasion, the sum collected, £120 10s. 3d., was found to consist of two cheques and the following 12,755 coins:—

Half-pennies, 2,054; pennies, 8,132; threepences, 1,390; sixpences, 817; shillings, 259; florins, 38; half-crowns, 50; half-sovereigns, 9; and sovereigns, 6.

In 1900, a three-days' bazaar, to raise £264, a debt on the church schools, and £250 to carry out repairs to the organ and the church fabric, and provide the curate's salary, was arranged by the trustees, vicar, and wardens.

And on the opening day, December 27th, after many months' busy preparation, there were displayed for sale in the large schoolroom a vast collection, tastefully arranged, of useful articles, which in beauty and variety testified to the fact that many artistic minds and skilful hands had been enlisted in the good cause.

The Earl of Derby, received with hearty cheers by a large and influential company, in opening the bazaar, said that "the object of their effort was a twofold one, namely, to improve the school in which religious teaching was given, and to keep in repair and in proper state of adornment the old church of which the parish was worthily proud.

"There was abundant proof that early in the history of Christianity in this country there was in existence a structure for some form of worship in Deane, but whether any portion of that building still remained they could only form a general conjecture."

Continuing, the Earl expressed his admiration of the fine display made by the ladies that afternoon, and trusted that the bazaar would prove a success beyond even the anticipations of its promoters.

A hearty vote of thanks to the noble Earl for his kind visit and support followed, and in the evening £220 4s. 9d. was announced as the proceeds of the day's sales, a very gratifying result.

W. W. B. Hulton, Esq., opening the next day's sale, congratulated the stallholders and the parish generally on the first day's success.

He also said that when he propounded the idea to the vicar, he thanked him cordially, and the only stipulation he made was that the people of Deane should put their shoulders to the wheel and assist him and his co-trustees to liquidate the debt of £264 on the existing schools.

After declaring the Bazaar open, the squire received a hearty vote of thanks from all present.

On the third and last day the bazaar was, at the kind request of the committee, opened by the writer, who expressed the great pleasure it gave him and his wife to pay their old friends of Deane another visit, and to take part in so useful and interesting an undertaking.

The more so as it had been got up for the benefit of the church and schools, to the inestimable blessings of which he owed many thanks for his early training in religious as well as in secular matters.

As a native of Deane, he also expressed his gratitude to the vicar, wardens, sidesmen, and to the numerous other church and school workers who had laboured so long and willingly to make the bazaar what he was pleased to think would be a great success.

Declaring the Bazaar open, the usual vote of thanks was accorded to the writer, and at closing time in the evening the takings at the three days' sale, together with subscriptions, were reported to have reached the large total of £560.

And while expressing gratitude to the church and school workers, and a generous public, a word of praise was due to the Bolton Corporation, who contributed no little to the success of the bazaar in kindly arranging in time for it the opening of the excellent tram service they had so generously been extending to Deane.

A penny each way, to or from Bolton, early and late, wet or dry, nothing could have been conceived more beneficial to Deane than this tram service.

On the 9th of November, 1901, there appeared in the "Bolton Chronicle" the following interesting paragraph referring to Deane:

"NEW MACE FOR DEANE CHURCH.

"A few friends of the Rev. H. S. Patterson, Vicar of Deane, have decided to present to the church a new mace or sceptre in the place of the one destroyed during the Commonwealth. Made from designs by the Vicar, it represents 'Guidance,' and is of the purest Tudor style, corresponding with the woodwork and general style of the church. The sceptre is surmounted by a pelican feeding its young from its own breast, symbolical of self-sacrifice, whilst at the base is a monk's head, with a shield bearing three fishes, the arms of Whalley, with the inscription, 'Hominum piscatores' (Fishers of men.) The pentagonal stem, which has a Tudor band, is surmounted on the circular top section with a cap terminating in a

JOHN MILES.

corona, symbolical of England, Ireland, and Scotland. This sceptre, we understand, is probably the only pure Tudor sceptre in England, the Royal regalia and most of those in use in cathedrals and parish churches being of a nondescript Renaissance style. The new mace will be used at Deane Church for the first time to-morrow, and will be carried before the clergy and the Mayor-Elect (Ald. J. Miles, J.P.) when the latter attends Deane Church in the evening."

It was at this time that Alderman John Miles, J.P., the able and esteemed organist and choirmaster of Deane Church since Easter, 1864, attained to the high office of Mayor of Bolton, an honour to which we have previously, but briefly, alluded.

And it was to commemorate this interesting event that the handsome silver mace, just referred to, was subscribed for by the vicar and friends.

Accompanied from the church schools by a large concourse of friends, among whom was the Deputy Mayor, Alderman W. Nicholson,* J.P., and several councillors, the new Mayor attended the evening service at Deane Church on November 10th, the Sunday following his election, and presided, as usual, at the organ.

The congregation was an overflowing one, and in the procession of the choir from the vestry to the chancel the silver mace was carried by the verger in front of the vicar.

And at the close of a beautiful service, and an appropriate sermon by the vicar, the National Anthem was sung, followed by a trumpet voluntary on the organ, the execution of which, by the new Mayor, was much enjoyed.

We may here add that the new Mayor, following the usual custom, had the same morning attended the service at Bolton Parish Church, accompanied by the aldermen and councillors of the borough and a large concourse of friends.

Next year, 1902, the Mayor, representing the citizens of Bolton, and robed as became the memorable occasion, had the honour of being present at the coronation, in Westminster Abbey, of King Edward VII. and his amiable consort, Queen Alexandra, on August 9th.

To commemorate this national event, we find another paten—

* Previously six times Mayor of Bolton.

with an inscription upon it as under—added to the church plate by a lady much respected at Deane:—

"The gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Marsh unto the Parish Church of Deane in Lancs., on the Coronation of Edward VII., June 26th, 1902."

This thoughtful gift calls to mind the well-known saying: "There's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip."

For it unfortunately happened that three days before the above-named date the good Prince was overtaken with a most serious illness, necessitating a dangerous operation, to the inexpressible grief of the nation, and rendering the postponement of the coronation to a later date.

It was a most anxious time. Thankful, however, to say, the nation's prayer, "God save the king," was in due time granted.

Restored to health, his Majesty, with his esteemed consort, was duly crowned on August 9th, 1902, as already intimated, to the great joy of all his subjects.

The phrase we have just used, it may be interesting to know, originated with a poor slave, who used it against his cruel master, an ancient king of one of the Grecian Islands, and the prophecy was fulfilled. The story runs as follows:—

"When Ancæus was king of Samos, in the Grecian Archipelago, he planted an extensive vineyard, and oppressed his slaves so heavily in its cultivation that one of the bolder ones prophesied that he would never live to taste any of the wine. The king laughed, and had the slave beaten. Then at last, when the wine was made, he sent for the slave to witness him drink the first glass of it, in order to show him that the prophecy was false. When the servant appeared, the king, raising his glass of liquor, said, 'What do you think of your prophecy now?' 'There is many a slip 'twixt cup and lip,' was the answer. The words were scarcely uttered when Ancæus was informed that a wild boar had broken into the vineyard and was ruining it. Dropping the wine untasted, the king hastened to the scene to drive out the boar, but he was killed in the encounter, and the slave's prophecy was fulfilled."

Along with the gift of the paten, Mrs. Marsh presented "The Book of Common Prayer and Communion Offices," for the use of the clergy, each bearing on the inside of the cover the following inscription:—

MRS. MARSH.

"Deane Parish Church.
Presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Marsh,
of Deane,
To commemorate the
Coronation of King Edward VII.,
June 26th, 1902."

The large Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, still used in the church service, and in size and binding alike, have the following inscription lettered on the front of their covers:—

"A thank offering from the family of W. Hulton, Esq.
1858."

Still further interest was added to this year of 1902 by the following announcement in the "Bolton Chronicle" of September 20th:—

"DEANE CHURCH LYCHGATE.—Miss Ashton, of Southport, has offered to erect a lychgate* in Deane Churchyard, in memory of an ancestor and vicar of Deane, the Rev. Thomas Withnell, vicar 1767 A.D. The Vicar of Deane has designed an octagonal structure in keeping with the church and also the Hulton monument close by —the Blackfriars Cross, 1450 A.D. The whole structure will be stone—ashlar—with dressings of red Ruabon stone, with two doors of oak and open timber roof to correspond with the church roof; Tudor doorways and niche, and castellated, with two windows, &c., and stone seating capable of accommodating 30 or 40 people. This will be available for Nonconformist funerals, and a place where the mourner visiting the grave can find quiet and shelter. The large area of the churchyard and its distance from the church render the site suitable. The height will be that of the present small porch to the church, which it is hoped will soon give place to a porch like the ancient one which last century was allowed to fall down."

We have already, in Vicar Withnell's time, referred, but briefly, to the erection of this interesting Lychgate. Now let us add that it was opened by Miss Ashton on Wednesday evening, June 24th, 1903, in the presence of a large concourse of people, of whom about eighty were served with tea at the vicarage.

It bears two inscriptions. One over the entrance tells us:—

"This is the house of God, and it is the gate of heaven."

* From lich, A.S. for a dead body; hence lychgate, through which the dead are carried to the grave.

The other, seen on a brass plate inside the building, reads as follows:—

"To the glory of God for national mercies throughout successive generations, and in memory of Thomas Withnell, Vicar of Deane, A.D. 1767-1776. This Lychgate was erected by Ellen Low Ashton, A.D. 1903. H. S. P., Vicar."

"Unfortunately for the opening ceremony," says the "Bolton Chronicle" of June 27th, "rain was falling very heavily; but despite this drawback, there was a good attendance, which included the Revs. Canon Henn, M.A., H. S. Patterson, R. Norris, and B. J. Harker, his Worship the Mayor (Alderman J. Miles, J.P.), Miss Ashton, Messrs. James Boardman (of Lytham), Jesse Clegg, and R. Farnworth.

"Miss Ashton unlocked the door, and at an informal meeting inside the building Alderman Miles moved a vote of thanks to Miss Ashton for her presence that night, and the gift of the lychgate. He said he felt sure that the gift would be treasured by the inhabitants of Deane. It would shelter those who came to the church to be united in the holy bonds of wedlock, and also those who were brought there on the more mournful occasion of being laid to rest in their dear old churchyard. It was a gift in no ordinary way. Deane was, however, dear to her, and they must thank her for her forethought and kindliness for such a handsome gift.

The Rev. Canon Henn seconded the motion, and said that he always considered it much better for persons to make their gifts during their life than leave the money in their wills.

"The Rev. H. S. Patterson said this lychgate was for the convenience of those who could not use the church. It would be used mainly by the Nonconformists, and as Church people this was one of those instances in which they could show their sympathy with another religious body. He heartily thanked Miss Ashton for her gift.

"The resolution having been adopted,

"Miss Ashton said that she had very great pleasure in doing this work for Deane. She meant it as a national memorial. It was a very old church, and she was greatly interested in our own national history, and the history of the church having been providential for so long she thought it would be a tribute in that direction, and also a little link she had in the past with Deane. She hoped it would prove of great value to the parishioners, and

Miss Ashton.

that night they had ample evidence of the shelter it would give during a storm.

"A short service afterwards followed in the church, with an address by the Vicar."

Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1903 records the Living of Deane as follows:—

Glebe—50 acres - - - -	£98
Fees - - - - - -	110
Queen Anne's Bounty - - -	12
Ecclesiastical Commissioners -	120
Other sources - - - -	100
Gross income - -	£440 and house."

We have already referred to the discontinuance of Deane Agricultural Show, after five successful exhibitions, the last of which took place in 1870.

Revived in 1898, the sixth show of the new series was held in July, 1903, at the old spot, Got Green Farm, Deane, and with continued success.

Followed on February 4th, 1904, by the society's annual dinner, the "Bolton Chronicle" of the 6th of that month reports the proceedings as follows:—

"DEANE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY'S DINNER.

"A large company of farmers and others interested in agriculture spent a very convivial evening under the auspices of the Deane Agricultural Society, on Thursday, at the Queen Anne Hotel, the host of which (Mr. W. Higson) served an excellent dinner for the guests. These included Mr. J. Boardman, of Lytham, formerly of Deane (who presided), Mr. E. H. Rosbotham (chairman of the society), Alderman Platt, Councillors F. A. Horridge, L. Wild (Deane), and E. Gerrard, and Messrs. C. Levitt, J. Scowcroft, E. Sagar, M.R.C.V.S., T. Baxendale, W. F. Gardiner, W. Roscow, W. Clegg, J. Broughton, T. Stewart, W. Heaton (treasurer), R. and J. Platt (secretaries), Barton, and W. Roberts (president of the Bolton Dairy Farmers' Association). Apologies for absence were received from the Earl of Ellesmere, the Mayor of Bolton (Councillor Jno. Heywood), the Deputy Mayor (Alderman Miles), Alderman Tong, and Messrs. J. and T. Magee, W. H. Lever, F. A. Boyes, and J. Lewis,

"The Chairman submitted the loyal toasts, and incidentally mentioned that it was thirty-five years since—as chairman and treasurer—he last presided at the society's dinner, and that of the guests who were present on that occasion he noticed only one (his friend, Ald. Platt) there that night. He referred with regret to the absence of the Mayor, who like his predecessors, Aldermen Nicholson and Miles, had allowed himself to be elected president of the society. The toast of 'the President' was then, at the chairman's call, heartily honoured.

"Councillor Horridge, in a happy speech, proposed the sentiment of the evening, 'The Deane and District Agricultural Society.' He claimed that in the ancient parish of Deane it was most fitting and appropriate that there should be that old and honourable institution, an agricultural society. He trusted that both Deane and its society might prosper and flourish. As to the future of Deane, he thought it might be regarded as assured, seeing that now it was part of the great county borough of Bolton, which had, if anything, gained in dignity by its absorption of so ancient a parish.

"Mr. Rosbotham appropriately responded, and said that so far as the society was concerned it would be their aim to deserve success, and he anticipated advantages would accrue to them from the movement for the amalgamation of the Lancashire agricultural societies.

"Mr. Boardman having to leave to catch a train, Mr. Rosbotham afterwards took the chair. The toasts of the 'Subscribers' was proposed by Mr. Heaton; the 'Town and Trade of Bolton' by Mr. Levitt, who trusted better days were in store for the staple trade of the town; and the 'Visitors,' proposed by Mr. Hart, and replied to by Mr. Gardiner (Worsley). Silver cups were generously promised by Mr. J. Broughton and Mr. W. Clegg. The speeches during the evening were interspersed with music, songs being excellently given by Mr. Fielding and Mr. Hart, with Mr. M. Scowcroft as pianist; while Mr. Darbishire proved a splendid elocutionist. The arrangements for the gathering were very satisfactorily carried out under the direction of the secretaries (Messrs. R. and J. Platt)."

Referring to Deane shows, the "Preston Guardian" of October 1st, 1904, says:—

"The Deane and District Agricultural and Horticultural Society [so called since 1898] has done much to help on farming interests in a district which is rich in episodes of ancient history.

DEANE—REUNION OF "OLD SCHOLARS," 1904.

"Deane was in the middle ages certainly a great corn growing district, with its tithe barns, whose records were given in the coucher book of Whalley Abbey. In the present day, with the evolution of farm systems, and their adaptations to the new conditions of British life, all the homesteads are of a particularly pastoral character, commanding good rents and answering to the description of all tenancies within the shadows of the great cities and towns—accommodation farms. Deane and district is the home of the great milk supply to Bolton, which seems for years to have been an attractive centre for the harmonious collaboration of all interested in farm ownership and occupation for many miles round. In this sense Bolton has set a great example to other boroughs in the country. In the organisation of the Deane Society we find both urban and rural interests pretty equally associated in heartiest and most liberal fashion, and the steady growth of the society is commensurate with the expansion of its influence in practical directions. Whilst open classes are included in the catalogue of the Deane Society, the bulk of its premiums are wisely reserved as local stimuli."

On the 17th of the following October there was a reunion of "old scholars" at Deane, in honour of the memory of their long-departed and esteemed schoolmaster, Mr. John Horsfield, who, as we have previously seen, died April 4th, 1889.

Mr. James Tonge, one of his earliest scholars, and from whom emanated the happy suggestion of the reunion, presided at the meeting, supported by a committee, which, with himself, consisted of the following old boys :—Thos. Partington, Chas. Mason, Tom Stewart, Edw. Gerrard, Arthur Horsfield, Thos. Boardman, Thos. Taylor, Ralph Platt, J. Seddon, J. Boardman.

"The following account of the interesting gathering is taken from the "Bolton Chronicle" of Octobler 24th, 1903 :—

"On Saturday evening a meeting of a somewhat unique character took place in the above schools, when about seventy old scholars of the late Mr. John Horsfield took tea together, and afterwards spent a social evening, in memory of their old schoolmaster. Mr. Horsfield entered upon his work as the village schoolmaster of Deane in 1840, and continued his labours in that capacity until 1870, when he relinquished the position, much to the regret of those who knew him and knew the good work he was doing and had done. It was a most eloquent testimony to his

sterling character as a man, and to the interest he took in his scholars, that thirty-three years after his retirement there should be a reunion of seventy of those scholars, all who spoke testifying not alone to his high moral character, but to the personal interest he showed in each scholar, to the pains he took with them not only during school hours but after, and to the efforts he made to obtain suitable work for them when they left school. The proceedings began by the whole company being photographed, with the old school as a background. After this the party assembled for tea, which was provided by Mrs. Marshall, of Deane, who was assisted in her arrangements by Mrs. Mason and other lady friends of the "old boys," who all showed the greatest possible interest in the gathering. Additional interest was lent to the occasion by the presence of Mr. Horsfield's daughter, and his son, Mr. Arthur Horsfield, Mrs. Arthur, and their two daughters. Mr. Arthur Horsfield brought with him some interesting books and papers of his father's, and read extracts from his diaries, which relating as they did in some cases to some of the old boys present at the meeting, were intensely interesting. Mr. James Boardman, of Lytham, a scholar at Deane at the time Mr. Horsfield came, gave some interesting information respecting the foundation of the school and its early history. As there was not a fixed programme, but all were invited to say a few words, all whom time allowed to speak testified to the pleasure they had in meeting the old faces once again, and alluding to their old master's worth. The speaking was interspersed with occasional songs, a recitation admirably given by Mr. Horsfield's granddaughter, and votes of thanks to the committee and the ladies who prepared the tea. So ended an evening that will be long remembered with pleasure."

In 1904 we find the vicar and wardens arranging the purchase, by deferred payments, of a steel corrugated building to supply the need of a church house at Deane. No longer required, it had been used for religious purposes at Blackpool.

Costing £350, the vicar advanced the first instalment of £100, and, transferred to the village, the building, with its name changed from "All Saints' Church" to Deane Church House, was opened on the 6th of July, 1904.

"From the "Bolton Evening News" of July 7th, we gather the following particulars of the building and the opening ceremony :—

"Situated immediately before the churchyard, in the ancient village of Deane, is a most prominent structure, recently erected, known as Deane Church House.

"The vicar, the Rev. H. S. Patterson, in a circular describing this building, remarks that the problem of the age is 'How to reach and influence for good our youth.

"'At present they leave school, to forget all they have learned, and are often found in the streets, the theatre, or public houses, their only places of recreation.

"'Youth is the period when character is formed. The church does little to solve the problem, and improved methods are necessary.

"'In all projects there are many who are indifferent and see a lion in the way, but we hope to make the church house a refuge and a home where good association and counsel will afford youth the sympathy and guidance it so much needs.'

"The church house is a corrugated steel building, 80 feet by 40 feet, with hot-water heating. It can be divided up into recreation room (40 feet by 20 feet), with eight side rooms, and centre hall to seat 300. This will be used for mutual improvement, lectures, technical classes, and gymnasium, and there will be a temperance café as may be required.

"The opening ceremony was performed on Wednesday evening by Mr. James Boardman, of Lytham, who has been connected with Deane Church a great number of years.

"His words were few, but to the point, and after expressing his pleasure at being present, he said he looked upon the church house as a great acquisition to his native village. From long experience of similar institutions in other places, he was sure it would prove a blessing not only to the young men and women of our day, but also to those of all time to come. To the accompaniment of loud applause from a large assembly, he declared the church house open.

"A vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Boardman for his kindness in coming to open the church house, and after the vicar had made a few remarks, tea was partaken of, and the rest of the evening was spent in an enjoyable manner."

Though here said to be "situated immediately before the churchyard," the church house really stands on the east side of it,

and in the adjoining "Green's Croft," formerly, as we have seen, acquired for the intended site of a curate's house; but failing that, how providential that the land should have been reserved from Vicar Bashall's time till now, to become, instead, the site of this equally useful institution.

How singular, too, that the ex-warden, who owed so much to his kindness, should have been the person selected to open it.

And now let us turn from the church house to the venerable and picturesque church close by, which, taking the place of the earlier chapel of Saynte Mariden, has adorned the ancient village for over four-and-a-half centuries.

DEANE CHURCH—INTERIOR, 1904.

CHAPTER LXXX.

THE foundations of the sacred edifice rest upon what is termed shale-rock, and "it is believed," says Baines, writing in 1836, "to have been erected in 1450, though some years ago, during alterations, an iron hinge was found on a door with the date 1412 upon it."

The Norman arch of the north door, and pillars against the tower wall, also parts of a window, are said to be relics of the earlier Norman chapel of Saynte Mariden, the erection of which tradition assigns to the year 1111; while another tradition has it that a still earlier church occupied the same spot in Saxon times, and was destroyed by the Danes in one of their many ravages in this part of our island.

Returning to Baines, he goes on to say that "the church is a venerable rusticated edifice, consisting of an embattled body, with a low projecting wing in front extending beneath the north windows of the orchestra, and terminating in the porch.

"The small antique tower is surmounted by a pointed roof and vane. The interior of the church is light and simple, and the congregation are chiefly seated on oaken benches.

"Plain columns, bearing pointed arches and lightly fluted, separate the nave from the side aisles.

"The roof is ornamented by square woodwork, chased at the angles.

"Two new galleries, on the north and south sides of the church, were erected by public subscription in 1833."

To make room for these galleries, the aisle walls were raised some ten feet, and a second tier of windows added to provide the necessary light; while, at the same time, the chancel was enlarged by an extension of its walls.

In 1884, fifty years after their erection, the galleries were, as already noted, pulled down, a general renovation and repair of the church, and the conversion into benches of square pews in the south aisle, taking place at the same time.

Resuming Baines' remarks: "The church," he tells us, "is dedicated to St. Mary, and stands on a gentle declivity commanding a valley [Deane Valley], watered by a rivulet [the Middlebrook], which runs not far below it to the south.

"The name den [or dene], a valley, is obviously Saxon, and expresses not inaptly the situation of the township of Rumworth,* in which stands the church of Dean.

"As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century there was a burial ground and chapel here, called St. Maryden, St. Mary Dean, and it appears from a deed of gift, without date, made by Thomas de Perpoint to the Abbey of Stanlaw, that he gave all his lands adjoining the chapel and its cemetery to that monastery [and Saynte Mariden], and Robert de Grelle, lord of Manchester in the time of Edward 1st [1276], confirmed the same."

Turning to Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, of 1849, we learn that :

"The Church is a fine building in the perpendicular style, standing in a spacious churchyard in which is a very large yew tree.

"A considerable portion of the interior is laid out in old oaken benches.

"The east window [erected in Vicar Girdlestone's time], which is of great size, has been embellished with figures of our twelve apostles, in richly-stained glass, executed by William Warrington, of London, and this imitation of ancient stained glass is said to be one of the best yet produced in the country.

"There is still remaining a very old and elaborate carved oak pulpit, hallowed by the preaching of George Marsh, whose apprehension and subsequent martyrdom at Chester, in 1555, are recorded at length in Fox's Book of Martyrs."

Whittle, an historian of Bolton of 1855, has the following reference to the venerable church :—

"This ecclesiastical building of olden time is a quaint and capacious house of worship, after the Norman style of architecture, with a large cemetery, filled with tombstones, surrounding it.

"The edifice is walled in, with a gateway leading from the public road.

"There was a lychgate existing here in 1789, for the purpose of resting the corpse, whilst the priest and clerk arrived from the church porch to walk in procession previous to reading the prayers for the burial of the dead.

"This had existed since the 13th century, temp. Edward 3rd.

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* Since divided into two townships, one of which, taking the name Deane township, includes the village, venerable church, and other parts of the old township.

Deane Church—Views of Grotesque Figure (vide page 693)

"The sacred edifice is just what an old village church ought to be; it is very interesting to the antiquary.

"The tower is low, crewelled, crocketted, pinnacles at the angles; the dial of the clock faces the south; the clere windows of the north and south sides are twenty in all, that is ten in each basement, all grouped of three bays, round heads, mullioned.

"The door to the south possesses a carved grotesque head of an aged man, heavily laden with a large fish; the contortions of his face express great pain.

"It is figurative of the arms of Whalley [Abbey]: 'Get all the fish you can, and carry them to the church,' meaning men, for the clergy were then called fishers of men."

The coat of arms of the monks of Whalley Abbey was a shield on which was emblazoned three fishes hanging from three fishing-hooks, and the above grotesque stone figure was in all probability the design and work of the same monks.

"The eastern, or altar end window," continues Whittle, "is enclosed by a horseshoe arch of large span. The stained glass is splendid, being filled in compartments with fourteen evangelical figures, in flowing robes, exquisitely coloured; and niche-cuspated, fret, and foliated work adorn the whole.

"The tracery consists of seven lights each in the three transons, all grouped and mullioned.

"The church of Deane is dedicated to St. Mary, the blessed virgin, under God: it was built in 1450, and re-edified 1510.

"Dene, or den, a valley in the Saxon, very justly expresses the situation of the church in the township of Rumworth.*

"The old yew tree in the churchyard is much admired. How sweet to see this relic of many generations, preserved by a circular wall of stone round its venerable bole. It is a sign of sorrow for the departed."

The historian wrote this in 1855, and in the time of the writer as warden, the interesting tree of many generations was in a like flourishing condition.

Sorrowful, however, to say, decay set in later on, and now the past grandeur of the venerable tree will only be known to posterity from existing records, paintings, or photographs preserved of it.

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* See preceding foot-note.

In 1897 steps were taken to make the decaying tree less gloomy in appearance by removing the rustic seats* which, in addition to the stone wall, enclosed it, and planting climbing ivy in their stead.

Unprotected, however, these were soon stripped of their foliage by thoughtless persons anxious to take home mementos of their visit to the venerable church and graveyard, until fresh ones had to be planted and protected by an iron palisading.

At the same time other additions were made to the churchyard, as will be gathered from the following paragraph taken from the "Bolton Chronicle" of November 22nd, 1897:—

"Deane Churchyard. The previous picturesque character of this much-admired churchyard has been materially improved by the valuable additions now made at considerable cost, which has been defrayed by the parishioners' generous friend, Mr. James Boardman, now of London, but who has always retained his old affection for his native parish. The planting of the new yew trees mentioned in your issue of Saturday was continued and completed that day—three being put down on the south side, one on the east, and two on the north side of the venerable church. There have also been set over a hundred well-developed and pretty ivy plants round the base of the ancient yew tree, covering the whole of the stonework surrounding it, and adding considerably to its appearance. The handsome iron palisading erected for their protection and that of the old yew tree, also the iron grids enclosing the gravestones over the remains of the Rev. John Tilsley and his wife, were furnished by a well-known firm at Wolverhampton. This week, Mr. Boardman completes his 26 years' residence in London, where he has continued to manifest his interest in church work. He has filled the office of warden in one of the city churches for many years, and has also occupied the position of a vestryman of one of the most populous districts in the Metropolis. It may be interesting to add that Mr. Boardman was one of about 120 candidates for the office of Treasurer for the borough of Bolton, when vacant about 22 years ago, with the very creditable result that he came within one vote of the present able occupant of that important and responsible post."

Vicar Tilsley had been bereaved of his beloved wife twenty-one

* Doubtless these seats and the stone wall had something to do with the tree's decay, seeing that they would interfere with the rain fully penetrating to its roots.

Deane Church and Yew Tree, 1868.

years when he died in 1684. She died, unfortunately, from a miscarriage, and her burial is recorded in Deane registers as follows:

"Margaret Tilsley, the wife of John Tilsley, of Deane, in Rumworth, buried the 29th of April, 1663."

Her grave adjoins that of her husband, and her tombstone bears the following inscription:—

"MARGARET, THE DEARE AND
PRECIOUS WIFE OF JOHN
TILSLEY, BURIED APRIL 29TH,
1663, A MOST VIRTUOUS WOMAN,
IN PRICE FAR ABOVE RUBIES.
PROV. 31, 10.

LOV	ING LIE ED	ABOVE	MOST. ALL."

Turning now to the interior of the sacred edifice, seven tablets adorn its walls, namely, three in the south aisle, one in the centre aisle, and three in the north aisle.

The first three are in memory of departed members of the Hulton family, and bear inscriptions as follow:—

1. "In memory of Sarah Matilda Hulton, only daughter of Ralph Rothwell, of Ribbleton House, Preston; wife of William W. B., eldest son of W. F. Hulton, of Hulton Park. She died the 25th of October, 1873, aged 28 years, and rests in this church yard.

"'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God' (Matthew v., 8)."

2. "In memory of Hugh Thurstain Hulton, Esqre.. who died on the 11th of Novr. 1862, aged 38, and was buried in this churchyard.

"'Abide with me when night is nigh,
For without Thee I dare not die.'

"'Them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him."

To this is added, in a recess made for it in the wall, a neat brass plate with Latin inscription, as follows:—

"Juxta hoc sepulchrale marmor,
pietatis ergo et memoriæ positum,
Reliquias suas condi volnerunt
Plurimi de stripe Hultoniana."

This, translated, reads thus:—

"Several of the stock of the Hultons wished this monument of marble to be placed near his remains in memory of his piety."

3. "In memory of Georgiana Maria Clough, youngest daughter of William Ford Hulton, of Hulton Park; wife of William, eldest son of John Clough, of Newbald Hall, East Yorkshire. She died the 6th of April, 1864, aged 21, and rests with her infant son in Newbald Church.

"'Thy will be done.'"

One of the three tablets in the north aisle also refers to departed members of the Hulton family as follows:—

"In memory of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Hulton, of Preston, son of William Hulton, of Hulton Park, in this parish, Esquire. He died 28th September, 1831, aged 66, and was interred in the vault beneath.

"Also of Louisa Caroline, his wife, daughter of John Hooke Campbell, of Bangeston Hall, Pembrokeshire, Lord Lyon of Scotland. She died 31 March, 1863, aged 89, and was interred at Lytham.

"Also of Henry William, their eldest son, who with three companions was drowned in the Ribble, near Preston, 24th April, 1823, aged 21, and was interred in the vault beneath.

"Also of Jessop George, their third son, doctor of medicine, who died in the service of the Honorable East India Company, on board the Palinuris, off the southern coast of Arabia, 10th September, 1836, aged 26.

"Also of Anne, sister of Lieut.-Colonel Hulton, and wife of Bannistre Parker, of Cuerden Hall, in this county, Esquire. She died 24th December, 1830, in her 72nd year, and was interred at Leyland."

Of the other two tablets in the north aisle, one is "In memory of Elizabeth, the beloved wife of Edward Cannon, of Greenhill [Deane]," who died in 1876. She was an amiable lady and good to the poor.

The remaining tablet is "In memory of Dorning Rasbotham, Esq., of Birch House [Farnworth], in this parish."

The further inscription it bears is referred to by Baines as follows:—

"After a life of activity and usefulness, he died on the 7th of November, 1791, and his character, as drawn by his friend, the Rev. Thomas Barnes, D.D., is inscribed on a mural tablet in the Parish Church of Dean:—

"'In memory of Dorning Rasbotham, Esq., of Birch House in this parish, to which place he retired from Manchester, his native

EDWARD BRIMELOW.

town, in the year 1762, that he might there possess the ease and independence of a private country gentleman.

"'This situation he was well prepared to enjoy, by great ardour in literary studies; to adorn, by engaging manners, which secured the affectionate attachment of a large circle of respectable friends; and to render singularly useful to the public, by a most active and able discharge of the duties of a Justice of the Peace.

"'In this office, and in the highest functions of it, as chairman of the Quarter Sessions, where he presided, he acquired in a very eminent degree the high esteem of the gentlemen at the bar, the cordial regard of his fellow magistrates, and the grateful confidence of the public at large, supporting, with a consistency never impeached and never suspected, the characters of the poor man's friend, and of the firm asserter of order, law, and justice.

"'In these important services he persevered until his death, with the exception of one year, during which he served the office of High Sheriff for the County of Lancaster.

"'He died November 7th, 1791, aged 61 years.—Here also lie the remains of Sarah, his wife, oldest daughter of James Bailey, Esq., of Manchester, who died April 30th, 1805, aged 77 years. Their surviving children have erected this monument in memory of parents so revered and so dear.'"

Dorning Rasbotham's wife was a granddaughter of Samuel Peploe, Bishop of Chester; and by her he had two sons and three daughters. One of the latter, Frances, was married to William, third son of John Gray, of Finedon, in Northumberland.

It was from her father's MS. collection, obligingly furnished by her, that Baines derived much valuable information when compiling his History of Lancashire. "He was," Baines tells us, "very partial to the pencil, and he both painted, sketched, and engraved very successfully."

Hence we learn from Harland of his having left, with his MS. history of Lancashire, a water-colour drawing of Deane Church, which, unfortunately, we have not been able to meet with; and the picture with the old lychgate in it, seen in the vestry and known as "Old Deane Church," is in all likelihood an early copy of it.

A relic of the family, the picture is the gift of Edward Brimelow, an ex-warden of Deane, and was made to the venerable church on the eve of his leaving Broom House, Deane Road, in 1898, to reside at Lytham.

Dying there in 1902, aged 74, his remains, brought to Deane, were interred in the same grave with those of his beloved wife, of whom he had been bereaved twelve years.

The tablet in the centre aisle bears inscriptions as follows :—

"'She is not dead, but sleepeth.'

"'He was the only son of his mother, and she was a widow.'

"In memory of Roger Holland, Esq., of Birch House, who died June 17th, 1828, aged 74.

"Mary Catherine, wife of George Lomas, his eldest daughter, who died April 10th, 1823, aged 31.

"Roger Holland, his son, who died February 3rd, 1832, aged 38.

"This monument is erected by the bereaved wife and mother, who with grateful recollections would record the integrity, candour, benevolence, tenderness, and piety of the husband and the parent; the simplicity, elegance, and gentleness of the daughters; the generosity, frankness, and other manly virtues of an only son.

"These characteristics, with a constant sense of the supreme importance of religion, were their ornaments through life; the atonement of Christ their hope in death."

Besides tablets mentioned in the south aisle, there are in the same aisle three coats of arms referring to the Hultons.

Two, dated respectively 1741 and 1800, show the arms of two ancestors, each named William, and, impaled with their own, the arms of their respective wives.

Dated 1743, the third shows several quarterings of coats of arms of families with which the Hultons had intermarried.

A later William is referred to in Whittle's work of 1855, in a paragraph as follows :—

"The honourable and Rev. Montague Villiers was curate of Deane Church in 1836 [Vicar Girdlestone's time], and, as an evangelical preacher, was highly respected. He is the fifth nephew of Lord Clarendon, and married a daughter of William Hulton, Esq., of the Park.

"In February, 1856,* he was advanced to the dignity of Lord Bishop of Carlisle."

Deane rejoices in the honour of having been blessed with other curates, who have in time become bishops.

The Rev. A. T. Parker, another curate of Deane in Vicar

* Whittle's History is dated 1855, and the dedication 1857.

Miss Heelis.

Girdlestone's time, while filling the office of Rector, was made Suffragan Bishop of Burnley.

And the Rev. W. K. Macrorie, from being Curate of Deane in Vicar Thicknesse's time, was appointed to the bishopric of Maritzburg.

Of stained windows in the venerable church there are six, two of which—the chancel window and the Martyr window—we have already referred to; and of the other four, three are in the north and one in the south aisles.

The latter and the one facing it in the north aisle are in memory of Miss Elizabeth Heelis*—one the gift of Deane Sunday school teachers, the other of her relatives and friends.

Miss Heelis resided at "The Elms," at the top of Deane Brow, in Deane Road, now occupied by her niece, Miss Harrison; and from her early days had been a Sunday school teacher and a constant friend of the poor. She died in 1865, much regretted.

The next in date is "A memorial of Jane, the beloved wife of James Greenhalgh, Deane, Solicitor." She died in 1881.

The fourth is "In memory of John Kynaston Cross, of Fernclough [Heaton] in this parish, born October 13th, 1832; died March 20th, 1887.

"For eleven years Member of Parliament for the borough of Bolton; for three Under-Secretary of State for India.

"Placed here by his widow. The window above was erected by his workpeople."

Mr. Cross was a large millowner, and died much regretted. He was a worshipper in Deane Church.

In a glass case, seen at the chancel end of the church, the vicar has placed the following works:—

The Bible of 1549; a facsimile of the original MS. copy of the Prayer Book; the Book of Homilies; Foxe's Book of Martyrs; Charles second's Prayer Book; the works of Bishop Jewell; Hooker's Ecclesiastical Pollity: and Burnet's History of the Reformation; all ordered by Parliamentary Convocation and Crown to be put in churches.

* The sister of the Stephen Heelis, Esq., who so generously gave up his pews, in Vicar Bashall's time, for the benefit of the church.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

NEXT to the sacred edifice, the vicarage house, placed in an exceedingly picturesque situation, is the oldest and most interesting building in the village.

Here Vicar Tilsley resided in Cromwell's time, and, allowed by the trustees, for some years after he was ejected from the living.

It is a quaint, irregular pile, repaired and altered in the tastes of various vicars.

Here let us add list of the vicars who have held the Living of Deane since Henry VIII. seized the Abbey of Whalley and all other possessions of the monks, including the early chapel of Saynte Mariden, with its tithes and glebe :—

NOMINATED BY.	NAME OF VICAR.	DATE INSTITUTED.
Henry VIII.	William Rothwell	February 20th...1542
Elizabeth	David Dee	October 12th .. 1575
Do.	Lancelot Clegge	March 31st 1593
Charles I.	Richard Hardie	March 1st.. 1636
Ordinance of Parliament	John Tilsley	October 10th ...1643
Charles II.	John Angier	June 20th.....1663
Do.	Richard Hatton	November 22nd, 1673
Anne	James Rothwell	January 13th ...1712
George III.	Thomas Withnell	May 29th 1767
Do.	Robert Latham	June 13th.....1776
Do.	Thomas Brocklebank	April 6th ... .1818
George IV.	Edward Girdlestone.. ...	January 26th ...1830
*Lord Chancellor, on behalf of the Crown	Frances H. Thicknesse..	April 7th 1855
* Do.	William Bashall	April 27th.....1868
* Do.	Henry S. Patterson	April 7th 1877

* Queen Victoria's Reign.

Hung up in the vestry, there are the framed portraits of the four last-named vicars, together with those of Abraham Boardman and John Horsfield—the last of the lay parish clerks—and the writer, the donor of them.

To the communion table, Martyr pulpit, lectern, organ, mace, and church plate, we have already referred in other parts of our work.

Deane Church—Vicarage House.

One more object of interest, however, remains to be noticed, namely, the baptismal font, which, though plain in design, is of pleasing appearance, and, placed at the entrance to the choir vestry, adorns that end of the sacred edifice.

Now let us turn to "God's Acre," the picturesque and ancient churchyard, crowded with tombstones of various designs, some "recording successive generations of sturdy yeomen whose progeny still plough the same fields and kneel at the same altar."

"I have," says an ancient writer,* "ever felt a peculiar interest and delight in visiting the burial grounds in our chief cities.

"They have invariably been productive of a tender and soothing kind of melancholy, which affected my own mind, at least, in a way not easily described.

"I have often sat for hours on some tombstone, musing on the past and the future, conjuring up by imagination the thousands of living beings who once rejoiced in all the vigour of health and buoyancy of spirit, but who are now mouldering beneath my feet.

"And how often, under such circumstances, has the conviction flashed vividly on my mind that but a few years, at the very most, and I myself, with all my cares, and projects, and hopes, must pass into the land of forgetfulness.

"The Parisian places of interment are always more than commonly interesting to me. What burning thoughts have rushed into my mind when I have visited the tombs of the illustrious philosophers who have figured in the university of this city.

"It is one of those places I would like to dwell in for ever."

"The tombstones of Deane churchyard are," says Whittle, "singular and curious, a specimen of a few we give :—'John Seddon died in 1685.'

"'Many a one, pure and bright,
And in his natural spirit gay,
With tears for all but other ills,
Unless he could assuage the woe
Which he abhorred to view below.
He faded, and was calm and weak,
So softly worn, so sweetly meek,
So tearless,—yet so tender, kind,—
And grieved for those he left behind;
With all the while a cheek whose bloom
Was a mockery of the tomb!
Yet he died!'

* Ægidus de Colona, who flourished in 1300.

"A raised tombstone to the Johnsons, of Halliwell, A.D. 1680, the lettering is very curious. There are three altar tombstones, enclosed with a palisading, being the vaults of the Edges, of Middle Hulton, dated 1769. One to the memory of Joshua Crook, of Whitebank, in Deane parish, born August 10th, 1779, died July 8th, 1840.

"There are tombstones belonging to the Thompsons, the Howcrofts of Great Bolton, the Hollands, and the Lomaxes (all these are very neat ones), the Taylors, Pigots, Bevans, Martins, and Kellies are here.

"That of the Youngs, of Pike Lane, Bolton, is sculptured well:

"'All flesh is as grass, and all its glory fades,
Like a fair flower, dishevelled in the wind;
Riches have wings, and grandeur is a dream;
The rites we celebrate end in the tomb.'

"The following rude lines occur upon a gravestone:—

"'Whoe'er thou art that stops to read this stone,
Pause for a while, and think how soon life's gone.
He that is here was well in health like thee,
And in one moment in eternity!
The ponderous load from off the cart did fall,
And killed him instantly against a wall.
Sudden he went, but He who died for all
Can save poor souls when the trumpet sounds the call.'"

Among earlier tombstones than the foregoing to which Whittle omits mention are those of Vicars Tilsley and Hatton, and Robert Harpur, a Vicar of Bolton.

To the two former we have already alluded. Harpur's remains lie under a broken and otherwise dilapidated tombstone within a few paces of the south wall of the chancel.

Previously lecturer, he succeeded the Rev. William Gregg in the vicarage of Bolton in 1643, the same year that Tilsley became vicar of Deane, and probably was, like him, appointed by Parliament to the benefice.

Along with Tilsley, he was one of the seven ministers empowered by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, dated December 13th, 1644, to ordain ministers, pro tempore, in the county of Lancashire.

Under a later ordinance of Parliament (October 2nd, 1646), by which nine classical presbyteries were formed in the same county, he became, with Tilsley, a member of the second classis, which

Baptismal Font.

comprised the parishes of Bolton, Deane, Bury, Rochdale, Middleton, and Radcliffe.

Here let us say that the term "classis" means a convention or an assembly; and the word "second," associated with it, is simply the number by which the district was distinguished from the other eight districts.

Vicar Harpur died in Halliwell, one of the ancient townships of Deane parish, where he had resided since coming to Bolton.

The Latin inscription—much obliterated—seen on his tombstone, we make out as follows:—

"Johannes Harpur Ariiu
Magistister divini verbi
Minister
He diem clausif dum
quinquagessimus annus
avitur aud quintus distu
litra necis 24 Febr 1657.
quod egs sum voserifis."

This, translated, reads:

"John Harpur, Master of Arts, Minister of the Divine Word, died this day in his fiftieth year, 24th Feb., 1657.

"What I am, you shall be."

Following the Latin, there is another inscription, this time in English, but no less difficult to decipher than the former. We make it out as under:

"[Death] hath treasured here,
within the confines of this
sepulchre, [the]
religious ashes, learned dust,
which have
so well embalmed his corps,
though in the grave,
that neither death nor
dark oblivion can
corrupt this Reverend man."

Vicar Tilsley survived Vicar Harpur twenty-seven years, and, referring to his tombstone, the "Bolton Chronicle" of June 25th, 1898, makes the following remarks:

"Deane Churchyard Memorials.—We understand that Mr. James Boardman, of London, formerly a churchwarden at Deane,

has provided a new tomb—an exact copy of the old one, which is in situ—as a memorial of John Tilsley, a vicar of Deane during the Commonwealth. From 'Annals of Bolton,' published by Mr. James Clegg, we cull the following record:—'1684. December 16. Death of John Tilsley, M.A., Vicar of Deane, and a native of Lancashire: one of the Presbyterian Committee of Ordination; a celebrated preacher and Nonconformist, thrice ejected, once imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower, and afterwards residing at Manchester as a private individual, where he died aged 60 [70]. Vicar Tilsley married a near relative of Humphrey Chetham, and both he and his wife were buried beneath the venerable yew tree in Deane Churchyard. Over their graves, placed side by side, still remain two small flat stones, bearing these inscriptions:—'Here lyeth the Body of John Tilsley, Clarke, Master of Arts, and sometime Vicar of Deane, which was deceased the 16 day of December, 1684.' 'Margaret the Deare and precious wife of John Tilsley, Buried April 29th, 1663, a most vertuous woman in price far above rubies. Prov. 31, 10.'"

Another interesting object in the churchyard is the vicar's memorial cross to George Marsh, the Deane martyr, seen on the right-hand side of the church-walk, near the two elm trees.

It is said to be in pre-Norman style, and designed after the study of most of the interesting crosses in Great Britain.

And the ancient stone of Saxon times—its cross long demolished—upon which it rests bears on three of its sides, respectively, the following inscriptions:—

1. "'The glorious army of martyrs praise Thee.'
"In Memoriam."

2. "George Marsh, Martyr, burned at Chester,
"April 24th, 1555.
"Erected by H. S. P., Vicar, 1893."

3. "This stone formerly stood on New York Road,
Deane, and was removed to this site by the
inhabitants of Deane, 1893."

Here we may add that New York, a small hamlet, lies within half a mile to the west of the venerable church, on the old Broad gate Road: and near it, on the same road, stood the interesting stone before its removal, the spot commanding a full view of the hills on the opposite side of Deane Valley.

The deep cavity seen in its centre had evidently been the receptacle of an ancient cross, demolished probably at the time,

DEANE CHURCH—MARSH MEMORIAL CROSS.

1522, when the chapel of St. Ann and the Holy Trinity met with a similar fate.

"These crosses," says the Rector of Barkham, referring to like relics, "were the rallying points for Christian congregations before churches arose.

"Often there stands near the village church an old stone cross: its head has doubtless gone, broken off by the force of the gales or by the wild rage of human passion, but it preserves the memory of the first conversion of the Saxon villages to Christianity, and was erected to mark the spot where the people assembled to hear the new preacher, and to consecrate it for this purpose."

"The north of England has many examples of the zeal of these early preachers of the faith, and probably most of them were fashioned by the monks and followers of St. Wilfrid, who was Archbishop of York at the beginning of the eighth century.

"When he travelled about his diocese, a large body of monks and workmen attended him. Among these were the cutters in stone, who made the crosses and erected them on the spot which Wilfrid consecrated to the worship of God."

"The general adherence of the people of the Reformation," says the Nat. His. of England, vol. 2, p. 353, "even among the lower classes, was strikingly shown by a short Act of Parliament, passed in December, 1529, interdicting the pulling or digging down of crosses in the highways."

The handsome cross erected by the vicar to the worthy martyr will be seen in the accompanying illustration.*

Standing near it, uncovered, are—the vicar, on the right; the writer, on the left; while the other gentleman and the lady are a Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson, who, like the writer, were revisiting the scenes of their childhood.

The meeting, though quite unexpected, was none the less interesting, for, known to him in his school days, the writer was pleased to learn that Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson had on the previous Sunday celebrated, in an exemplary manner, their golden wedding by a short service in the venerable church.

To this the "Bolton Chronicle" of September 10th, 1898, makes the following brief but notable reference:

"GOLDEN WEDDING CELEBRATION AT DEANE CHURCH.—An interesting and somewhat unique ceremony took place at Deane

* "A Snapshot" by the writer's son, James, both on holiday tour.

Church on Sunday noon. It was a golden wedding thanksgiving service, the parties being Mr. Hodgkinson, formerly Chief Constable of Oldham, and Mrs. Hodgkinson, who were accompanied by the gentleman who officiated as 'best man' at their wedding, 50 years ago, as well as the bridesmaid. There were also present the children and grand-children of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson, the party altogether numbering about 40."

And now, after long, but happy years of research, let us bring to a close our humble work with the following, not inappropriate, words taken from the Rector of Barkham's "English Villages":—

"It is hoped that these chapters upon the old life of our country, and the manners and customs of our forefathers, may induce many of my readers to read and study history more deeply, may serve to create an interest in the relics that remain to us of the past, and to preserve the fleeting traditions that Time doth consecrate.

"And when we read of the piety and simplicity of our forefathers, their veneration of their church, their love of home, their innocent joys and social customs, we should strive to imitate their virtues, which have materially helped to make England a great and powerful nation."

One more word seems desirable, namely, that of "Farewell" to each and to all our readers; and to this let us add a few quaint words from the works of an old writer—"Thomas Hyl, Londoner"—who in one of his books, dated 1563, takes leave of his readers as follows:—

"Thus, gentle reader, I have (I trust) fully satisfied thy desire in as many things as are nedeful to be knowen; and I commyt this little boke to thy gentle judgement.

"Yf thou mayst receave any proffyt or commoditie thereby I shalle be glad of it, and yf not, yet favourably let yt parte from thee to others whose knowledge and experience is lesse than thyne herein, that they may gather such thynges as to them are straung, thoughe to thee well knowen before, and thus briefly I commit thee to God."

FAREWELL.

Map of Deane and Vicinity, 1892.